

The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors

*A Historical
Review of the
Female Nude in
Greek Art*

Christine
Mitchell
Havelock



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in Greek Art

Christine Mitchell Havelock

Ann Arbor

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In memoriam
Eric A. Havelock, 1903–88

Preface

This book proposes to take a new look at some of the most famous icons of Western art: Greek statues of the female nude—in particular those that represent the goddess Aphrodite. My main hope was to try to understand what these figures meant to the Greeks themselves and to create some order out of the chronological chaos that engulfs them. Throughout, I have tried to keep in mind the history and meaning of the female nude in postantique art and the contributions of feminist analysis. The Aphrodite of Knidos, the leading Greek example, required the most detailed reexamination, and while I was carrying this out, it became apparent that I had to confront the male-biased scholarship of both the past and the present.

My thinking and research have been assisted by my friends, former colleagues, and students at Vassar College. Elaine Pike and Tom Hill have given generously of their time and expertise in the preparation of the manuscript. For assistance and suggestions, I am indebted to Curt Beck, Tom Cole, Marni Kessler, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Karen Lucic, Brian Lukacher, Charles Mercier, and S.B. Pomeroy. The staff of the Vassar Library, especially Elizabeth Oktay and Kathleen Kurosman, have been unfailingly helpful.

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Introduction

Probably more ancient statues survive of the nude Aphrodite than of any other Greek divinity. Large numbers of representations of the goddess have been retrieved from sites in all Mediterranean countries and in Europe. In sculptured form she is everywhere—in museums, in parks and gardens, in palaces and villas, and on store shelves and mantel pieces. Countless times I have spotted her in the background bushes or in the middle of fountains in films. Do we tend to take her for granted? She is so pretty and so familiar. Indeed, sometimes it seems as if the subject itself, the goddess of love and sex, is not deemed as worthy of scholarly attention as the male nude, as themes involving mythological battles, or as heroes and rulers, such as Alexander the Great.

The female nude is one of the most prominent and original subjects undertaken by Greek sculptors. It is therefore all the more remarkable that it has aroused so much disagreement. When were these statues made? What do they mean? How can we explain their great numbers and the conflicting theories about their style and development? These questions began to be discussed in the late nineteenth century. They are still debated today—unless they are ignored altogether. Indeed it could be argued that research on the matter has reached a kind of dead end. Perhaps something about the female nude as subject makes objective analysis especially difficult.

There is, however, one major point of agreement: the female nude as a subject for art in three-dimensional and monumental form was introduced by the late classic sculptor Praxiteles. The work was the statue of Aphrodite purchased by the city of Knidos in about 350 B.C. (fig. 1). It was an innovation of great significance and with major consequences. Not only did Praxiteles introduce the naked Aphrodite as a subject into classical Greek art; it is also accepted that his work inspired later Greek versions of the goddess. These in turn were adopted by Rome, which disseminated them far and wide. In this way the female nude as a subject for the plastic arts entered the mainstream of the West.

It is surely correct to assume that the Knidia is the crucial beginning of a later development. But when exactly did the later development begin? Soon after Praxiteles' statue had been put on display? Say, about 300 B.C., when the Hellenistic period was just beginning? That is the conviction of many scholars. Although their expectations are reasonable, there is not a trace of the Knidia in either the art or the literature of the fourth and third centuries B.C. The distinctive and famous gesture of her right hand, which is lowered over her pubic area, does not appear again until near the end of the second century. Does this simply mean an absence of surviving evidence? Or was there actually a long hiatus, maybe as much as two centuries, after which the Knidian Aphrodite was rediscovered? Was it only then—roughly 100 B.C.—that Praxiteles' nude Aphrodite exerted a special appeal and so began to stimulate a wonderful array of variations on the theme? That is my conviction and the one I will defend and explain in this book.

In view of past controversies and disagreements, a fresh look at the issues is surely required. To begin, this will entail placing the Knidia in the context of the fourth century, the statue's originating period. How should the figure be interpreted, and what did it mean to contemporary viewers? No progress can be made on these questions unless we know what the Knidia looked like. Thus we will reconstruct as far as possible the original appearance of the statue and consider in some detail her stance, her coloring and makeup, the way she held her head, and the gestures of her arms. The evidence will be drawn from the statue itself, at least as far as it can be known through various replicas, all of which are different in one way or another. Other archaeological testimony and ancient literary notices may contribute to our knowledge of the original. We shall also have to ask how revolutionary the statue by Praxiteles was. To this end I will consider the question of the goddess' nudity and the history of nudity in Greek art.

One of the major purposes of this book is to show how ancient documents concerning Praxiteles and his statue have been misread by modern scholars. As a consequence both the artist and his masterpiece have unfortunately been misunderstood and underrated. Also unfortunate, once the meaning of the Knidia was distorted, later statues of the goddess were wrongly perceived too.

Ancient writers wrote histories of the development of Greek art, and without exception they regarded Praxiteles very highly. Second to none, he was a member of the standard canon of sculptors. He was praised for his sensitive marble technique and for his ability to recapture nature.

Thus, in the scholarly tradition of antiquity Praxiteles was one of the great masters.

But there also exists a body of poetry written in late Greek times—no earlier than 100 B.C.—that celebrates the beauty of Praxiteles' statue of Aphrodite. Above all, these fragments of verse delight in her nudity. With amusing hyberbole, the poets express their envy of the sculptor because, like Paris and Ares, the lovers of Aphrodite, he had the opportunity to see the goddess of sex totally naked. There are also anecdotes imbedded in the writings of several ancient authors that state Praxiteles used his mistress Phryne as the model for his Aphrodite. Phryne, moreover, was no ordinary woman but a famous Greek courtesan. As I will attempt to show, however, she is largely a fictitious character, and her liaison with Praxiteles is probably a fantasy concocted well after the sculptor's death. Nevertheless, beginning in the nineteenth century, these stories and poems were fastened on as a means for interpreting the Knidian Aphrodite. It was wrongly assumed that they expressed the sentiments of the fourth century, the period when the statue was made.

One of the persistent problems we shall have to confront is that not only was the Knidia the creation of a male sculptor but all the ancient literary references to the statue were written by men. Although women surely saw the statue and treasured her in their own homes and gardens, it is the way men looked at the goddess and what they thought about her that has come down to us in written commentary. This has constituted a tradition that in part assumes that the Knidia by Praxiteles is not a statue but a woman, and less a remote divinity than a living seductress. Even in antiquity Aphrodite and Phryne tended to become equated and confused, and in a certain sense Praxiteles was thought to be involved with both of them. No one in antiquity, however, objected to his alleged love affair with the courtesan or felt there was anything ethically wrong in their relationship. That kind of moral attitude did not surface until the nineteenth century. I further propose that because Praxiteles created the first monumental nude female statue, he has become suspect both as a man and as an artist. This view has had wide currency since Winckelmann wrote in the late eighteenth century. But of course in the history of art as a whole, Praxiteles has not been a solitary victim. In the late nineteenth century, Rodin suffered the same kind of ill repute because of his sensuous female nudes and his intimacies with various models.

Because Praxiteles created the first monumental nude and because of his legendary association with a famous courtesan, he has been forced to compete with another great Greek artist of the classical period, the sculp-

tor Polykleitos. Although ancient historians considered both men supreme geniuses and did not rate one above the other, critics of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries tend to give the edge to Polykleitos. He had a reach, it is said, that eluded Praxiteles. His work, rather than that of Praxiteles, is the classic Greek statement. According to these critics Polykleitos is up there with Plato in standing for what is considered to be essential in Greek thought and culture. Embodying this way of thinking is Polykleitos' Doryphoros ("spearbearer"; fig. 5). But the Aphrodite of Knidos can also lay claim to a central position in Greek art. Her soft and gentle form portrays a feminine beauty that is disciplined, ideal, and luminous. She too embodies values and traditions that are classic and Greek. The Aphrodite of Knidos has been perceived for too long through two semiopaque veils, the first imposed in late Greek and early Roman times, the second beginning with Winckelmann but made even more obscure by scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The veils must be drawn aside so that we can see the disrobed figure in a clearer light.

Rather suddenly toward the end of the Hellenistic period, there are indications of a new and intense interest in Praxiteles' statue. As I have already noted, at this time a flurry of epigrams allude to the Knidia's nude beauty. Simultaneously the fictive tale of a romantic link between Phryne and Praxiteles began to circulate. It strongly appealed to the erotic fancies of the time. Indeed the idea of the sculptor Praxiteles who falls in love with his model is rather like the passion felt by Ovid's Pygmalion for his ivory maiden.

Early in the first century B.C., when Greece was completely under the domination of Rome, the Knidia's fame had increased to such an extent that a wealthy Eastern king made a bid to buy the statue for a very high price. There is also evidence suggesting that at about the same time, the statue had been removed from its earlier setting and placed in a new and more elaborate pavilion especially designed for unobstructed viewing. Not only was this all the more rewarding for the tourist ships that plied the waters between Rome and the eastern Mediterranean, but it also suggests that the statue of the divine Aphrodite not only had become a famous cult image or object of worship but also had taken on the aura of a treasured work of art that would go down in history.

That the Knidia was in effect rediscovered in the late Hellenistic period (150–100 B.C.) is corroborated beyond a doubt by the sculptured group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros that was found on the island of Delos (fig. 12). For the first time the gesture of the goddess' right hand—which is laid over her genitalia—was imitated and recognized as distinctive. Praxiteles

had invented this gesture and intended it to convey a profoundly serious and complicated meaning. But in the Delian sculpture its religious import is suffused with satire and humor. The group was discovered with a base inscribed with the name of the donor. The inscription furnishes a secure date and the reason that the donor commissioned it. Its find-place, moreover, provides important evidence about its meaning and function. Above all, we learn just who was looking at Aphrodite in this appreciative, but mirthful, way.

Replicas of the Aphrodite of Knidos began to be made and to proliferate at about the same time that the Delos triad was created. For the most part these replicas are in reduced scale, but their sheer numbers and surprisingly sudden appearance is further testimony to the unprecedented popularity of the Knidia in the late Hellenistic period.

But the most remarkable and important evidence for this phenomenon are the thematic variations Praxiteles' statue inspired at this time. These variations are so numerous that they cannot be easily classified. Lovely Aphrodite is depicted nude in a wide variety of poses: standing, kneeling, crouching, bending, and turning. Eros, the young god of love, might play with his mother or hold her mirror. While in some instances Aphrodite's hand covers her genitalia, in others drapery just as well serves the same purpose, leaving her hands free to fix her hair or hold a shield. Garments might billow and float behind the figure, might be wrapped and gathered around her, or might be brought forward and knotted. Or the goddess might seize her long gown and drape it artfully and enticingly over her body, leaving parts of it conspicuously bare. The sculptors who designed these creatures were endlessly ingenious and creative. With rare exceptions they are nameless.

Since there are far too many surviving statues of Aphrodite to deal with all of them in this book, it is necessary to restrict this study to seven types in addition to the Knidia. I have chosen major Aphrodite types that have been familiar for a long time. They have all made the pages of guidebooks and textbooks. I will discuss each of the seven in a separate essay in which I hope to elucidate some of the problems of chronology and interpretation. Sometimes the divergence of opinion about dating is almost incredible, and thus it becomes obvious that the discrepancies and the theories that lead to them must be analyzed. At the heart of the problem are certain long-standing beliefs about the development of Greek art that have been inherited from Winckelmann, which maintain that because the Hellenistic period was one of political decline, late Greek art was consequently doomed. Also at the heart of the problem is the scholarly propensity first

noted in my remarks about the Knidia, namely, the tendency to forget that one is dealing with a work of art and not its subject. A certain patriarchal bias is built into the long history of scholarly endeavor on behalf of Aphrodite statues. In addition to the harm that I believe the prejudice has inflicted on the reception of the Knidia, another famous figure, the Aphrodite of Melos (fig. 33), has suffered hardly less. Accordingly I think the reader will find especially illuminating the curious adventures in the world of scholarly research that have befallen one of the greatest sculptures ever made.

While it is necessary to rely almost entirely on Roman copies of the Aphrodite types, I should alert the reader that the purpose of this study is not to compare several versions of one type to reconstruct, or to approach closer to, one original. Another major stumbling block to reaching a convincing and stable chronology for statues of the goddess has been a preoccupation with the detailed scrutiny and evaluation of individual Roman copies. This pursuit is supposed to lead to a single version that best reflects an unknown original that can be dated—the earlier the better—and then assigned to a sculptor, preferably a famous one. Further, in my view the superior accuracy of the life-size replica over the reduced or miniature copy can by no means be taken for granted. Small copies can be very valuable for gaining an idea of the sculptor's attitude toward a given type. In any event, it is becoming increasingly clear that exact copies, whatever the scale or medium, were not sought in antiquity and, moreover, that what was once thought to be a Roman replica of a classical Greek work often turns out instead to be a new late Hellenistic or early Roman creation. Consequently late Greek art is beginning to take on a much more positive reputation, even though the names of the sculptors usually are, and may well remain, unknown.

Whether the seven types of Aphrodite statues had antecedents—in vase painting, for instance, or in smaller sculptures—is another issue that should be investigated. Were the types fresh inventions, or were they simply borrowed from older art? The question is relevant because it affects how we assess the achievements of the late Hellenistic period; to be precise, was it still vital and creative, or was it devoid of new ideas and in decline?

In final consideration of the seven types, I will try to determine at what time they too began to be replicated. Copies made of terracotta are particularly helpful in reaching an overall chronology because frequently they have been discovered in an archaeological context at least roughly datable. But of course not every copy will come supplied with such information,

and when it is lacking we note the quite natural tendency to be guided by the alleged date of the original. I take the position that these reduced and relatively cheap copies began to be made soon after the prototypes were created. They will therefore be assumed to reflect not only the period in which the monumental types were conceived but also the time when their duplicates first became popular and desirable objects of possession.

A brief account of where the earliest small copies were actually discovered may help us decide whether it is possible to distinguish between a religious and a secular function. I will not embark on a demographic survey of finds but instead will consider what the different contexts—the private house, the garden, and the tomb—may reveal about the function of the figurines. Because they have been unearthed in such quantity in rather mundane locations, it can be assumed they embody aspirations and ideals that were shared by everyone. My examples are drawn from sites and cities of the Greek east and west and from Pompeii. Chronologically they range from the late Hellenistic period through the early imperial period in Italy. Apparently the replicas did not become life-size public adornments until later Roman times, a development that would more properly be explored in a book devoted to Roman sculpture.

The enthusiasm with which sculpted representations of the goddess Aphrodite were greeted in late Hellenism was not an isolated phenomenon. It was thoroughly in accord with other trends of the time. Instances where similar tastes and sentiments prevailed are found in the many sculptures usually designated as “rococo,” a term applied some years ago to several late Greek and early Roman groups that are cleverly composed and erotically suggestive. I argue that the subject matter of these sculptures consists of sexual encounters that are playful and pleasurable, and that it promotes the exposure and appreciation of the female nude body. The nude Aphrodite flourished in sculpture at the same time. The Dionysiac energy and sexuality of the “rococo” groups nevertheless had sacred connotations, and Aphrodite’s physical beauty was undoubtedly divine. “Rococo” art in antiquity has sometimes been frowned on for its frivolity and for being an unfortunate departure from the lofty idealism of classical Greek art. But these amorous figures and groups are important evidence for the vigorous culture of the whole late Hellenistic period.

Moreover, I think the love poetry of the time—in both Greek and Latin—adds a further dimension to our understanding of the Aphrodite types. In epigram and elegy, male poets celebrate, deplore, and cynically or wittily opine their romantic feelings. Epigrams by Philodemos praise the young naked female body. Catullus and Propertius address their mis-

tresses with unprecedented intensity. Even though Catullus idealized his Lesbia as a goddess and Propertius likened his Cynthia to a mythological heroine, both poets were pained by the infidelity of their women. Aphrodite's assistance is constantly summoned; the lover is always grateful for her presence and bemoans her absence. Ovid also has his Corinna, whom he compares to Lais, a rival of Phryne; Venus causes him to burn with passion. These poets visualize their mistresses in a new way; they gaze longingly at them and praise their naked beauty, as if they were carved images. Ovid in particular knew some of the Aphrodite sculptures discussed in this study; perhaps one or two of them adorned his villa. The mistresses who were immortalized by these famous poets were courtesans, and it seems to me that Phryne, Praxiteles' model for the Knidia, was in character and lifestyle one of their sisters. Yet all these women who are honored in poetry are idealizations rather than real historical portraits. They—as well as the romantic themes of rococo art—are symptomatic of the erotic climate of the period.

Finally, I conclude that the true ambiance of the female nude as a major subject of the sculptor's art arose not in classical or early Hellenistic times but in the sophisticated and worldly culture that flourished in the late second to first century B.C., when Greece and Rome were in dynamic interchange.

Chapter 1

The Aphrodite of Knidos

In ancient Greek and Roman times, the statue of Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, that was enshrined and worshiped at Knidos was one of the most renowned and most often mentioned in literary sources. Carved in Parian marble by the sculptor Praxiteles, it made him famous. For centuries the figure was a tourist attraction (fig. 1).

The precise date when Praxiteles carved the statue is not certain, but he probably made it at the height of his career, between 360 and 330 B.C. His mistress, the courtesan Phryne, was said to have been the model. With this statue, Praxiteles created the first female nude in three-dimensional and monumental form. A new subject had entered the history of art.

Unfortunately, like most works of art executed in antiquity by famous artists, the Aphrodite of Knidos did not survive. The work was last seen in the palace of Lausus in Constantinople in the early Christian period, and it was consumed by a fire there in A.D. 476. However, many copies of the statue, both large and small, of clay, bronze, and stone, were made before its destruction, and they have been found all over the Mediterranean world. Their great number attests to the figure's remarkable popularity in antiquity. The goddess' image persisted on Roman coins into the third century A.C. She inspired artists of the Renaissance in Italy and northern Europe, and her legacy abounds in neoclassicism. Even in contemporary art, her memory is still invoked.¹

Because so many of the arguments and so much of the thesis of this book are rooted in two of the longest and most important passages in ancient sources, I present them now at the beginning. Both authors wrote these words at least four hundred years after Praxiteles carved his Aphrodite. One other late literary notice is also of crucial interest. All three passages contain anecdotes and personal impressions, and they are vivid reminders of the persistent fascination in Roman times with the statue's beauty and reputation.

1. See the painting *Classical Woman* by W. Beckman, *Art News*, March (1992) 125.

The first passage comes from Pliny the Elder, a Roman encyclopedist who was born in A.D. 23 and who died during the volcanic eruptions of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79.

I have mentioned the date of Praxiteles in my discussion of the sculptors who worked in bronze; yet it was in his fame as a worker of marble that he surpassed even himself. There are works by him in Athens in the Kerameikos. But superior to all the works, not only of Praxiteles, but indeed in the whole world, is the Aphrodite which many people have sailed to Knidos in order to see. He made two statues and offered them for sale at the same time; one of them was represented with the body draped, for which reason the people of Kos, whose choice it was (since he put the same price on both), preferred it, judging that this was the sober and proper thing to do. The people of Knidos bought the rejected one, the fame of which became immensely greater. Later King Nikomedes wished to buy it from the Knidians, promising that he would cancel the city's whole debt, which was enormous. They preferred, however, to bear everything, and not without reason. For with that statue Praxiteles made Knidos famous. Its shrine is completely open, so that it is possible to observe the image of the goddess from every side; she herself, it is believed, favored its being made that way. Nor is one's admiration of the statue less from any side. They say that a certain man was once overcome with love for the statue and that, after he had hidden himself [in the shrine] during the nighttime, he embraced it and that it thus bears a stain, an indication of his lust. (NH 36.20)²

The second passage was written by Lucian (ca. A.D. 120–200). He was born in the eastern Roman empire, wrote in Greek, and was a philosopher and rhetorician. He lived in Athens for awhile.

When we had taken sufficient delight in the garden plants, we passed on into the temple. The goddess is set there in the middle of it—an exceedingly beautiful work of Parian marble—with a look of proud contempt and a slight smile which just reveals her teeth. The full extent of her beauty is unhidden by any clinging raiment, for her nudity is complete insofar as she holds one hand in front of her to

2. This passage and the following two excerpts are taken from J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (Cambridge, Eng. 1990) 84, 86.

hide her modesty. So strongly has the artist's art prevailed, that the recalcitrant and solid nature of the stone has become adapted to each limb. . . . The temple has two entrances, [the second being] for those who wish to see the goddess directly from the back, in order that nothing about the goddess should fail to be marvelled at. . . . To see the goddess in her entire splendor, we went around to the back. As the doors were opened by the woman who was entrusted with the keys unforeseen amazement at the goddess' beauty seized us. . . . (*Amores* 13–14)

Lastly, Athenaeus, born in Naucratis, Egypt, wrote around A.D. 200 and was a great compiler of earlier essays and poems on many topics.

[Phryne] in the festival of the Eleusinians and in the festival of Poseidon took off her robes in view of all the Greeks, unbound her hair and went into the sea. It was with her as a model that Apelles painted his Aphrodite Anadyomene [rising from the sea]. And Praxiteles the sculptor, falling in love with her, made his Knidian Aphrodite with her as the model. (Athenaeus 13.590)

What Did the Aphrodite of Knidos Look Like?

Pose

In spite of the many copies that exist, it is impossible to reconstruct in detail the appearance of the original statue. For the pose in general, Roman coins minted in Knidos by the imperial couple Caracalla and Plautilla between A.D. 211 and 218 provide reliable evidence (fig. 3). The most distinctive feature, the gesture of her right hand, conforms to the description by Lucian and confirms her identity.

The Knidian coin shows the figure standing on her right leg while her left bends slightly. While her right hand covers her pubic area, her left arm is turned up at the elbow, and her left hand holds a piece of drapery that falls on top of a tall vase standing on a pedestal. The head, facing right, is depicted in strict profile, the preferred view of the face for ancient die-makers. But on another coin, minted in Tarsus in Cilicia in A.D. 235–38 by Maximinus, the Knidia's head is presented in a three-quarter turn toward her left rather than in profile (fig. 4). Both coin images, then, agree that she looked toward her left rather than her right. Thus we may safely conclude that this was the statue's original position.

In another respect the coins are consistent. They show that the goddess' weight was unevenly distributed and that she supported herself on her right leg. In other words, Aphrodite's standing pose is a classic example of contrapposto.

When we turn to the replicas of the Knidian Aphrodite in sculpture in the round, we find again that the one consistent feature is the stance—the weight is supported by one leg and the other is relaxed and free. But unlike some coins the head is never turned far enough away from the body to be in profile. A turn to her left is most frequent, but the nature of the turn may differ; the face can be tilted, lowered, or raised, and sometimes it can even be seen frontally (fig. 17). Lucian declared that she wore a slight smile that just revealed her teeth, but this is not detectable in most copies. Her hair often tends to be pulled back into a bun or tied into a knot with a double fillet. In a few examples of this type, however, the fillet is omitted. She leans forward in some examples and stands with her back more erect in others. The proportions of her body vary from slender to rather plump, and the precise nature of her flesh or anatomical structure simply cannot be recovered, because in these respects each copy is virtually unique. The defining gesture of one hand laid over the pubic zone never varies, but in some of the copies that survive, it is the left, rather than the right, hand. Lucian was not specific about this. The opposite arm holding the drapery might be lowered without any bend or raised high and in a sharp turn; it might be held away from or close to her body. The vase at her side almost seems to take a different shape each time. Occasionally it is ornamented with floral designs or lifted onto a pedestal; the drapery the goddess holds might be sparse, abundant, fringed, or plain. Sometimes she wears a bracelet on her upper arm.

Because the replicas diverge in important ways, we have seen how difficult it is to determine details of the Knidia's pose and accessories. The discrepancies are found in both large- and small-scale sculptures, and therefore we should probably be cautious and should not favor one size over the other as the evidence more likely to lead to a correct replica.

Thus we can speak only in a general way about the pose of Praxiteles' Aphrodite. We may say that she stood in contrapposto position and that her right hand covered her "modesty" (*aidos*); that her head was turned to her left—how much we cannot say; that in her left hand she held a section of drapery over a vase at her feet; and that her hair was centrally divided and swept back. As in all marble figures of the fourth century B.C., the surface of the eyeballs remained unindented, and even if painted, her glance was not directed to any specific point. As a cult statue set up in a

temple, she was probably life-size or a little larger. One of the replicas now in the Vatican, the Colonna Knidia, is 2.04 meters in height and is often thought to be one of the most reliable copies (fig. 1).

Polychromy

The original appearance of the Aphrodite of Knidos would have depended on more than pose and accoutrements. The overall effect of the figure would have been enhanced by the application of color. But here again we cannot rely on later copies, most of which have survived without paint. If we depended on Pliny's account of the statue, we could conclude that it was so cleverly polychromed that it produced the illusion that the goddess was almost a real woman—indeed that the statue was so realistic that a certain man visiting her shrine embraced it, leaving a stain as a sign of his passion. Instead we might better consider the archaeological evidence regarding the general practice of adding polychromy to Greek sculpture.

That color was applied to the entire surface of Greek limestone and clay figurative sculptures from archaic times on is attested by numerous surviving examples. It was usually bright, decorative, and unnaturalistic. It is harder to generalize about the application of paint to marble, the material of the Knidia. We know that color was added to marble as early as the Archaic period in such details as hair, the iris of the eye, lips, and embroidered ornaments on drapery. In the classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries, we cannot be sure if large parts of the flesh were painted; they may have been left free and slightly polished to expose the natural beauty of the marble. Polychromy, moreover, seems to have been used just as liberally and just as frequently on male as on female figures, although undraped body parts of men might be tinted in a brown darker than the pale tones reserved for women. The "Alexander" sarcophagus from Sidon of the late fourth century exhibits amazingly subtle hues all over the flesh and drapery of the battling Greeks and Persians. The color, however, is not shaded, and the marble is still visible and vibrantly warm beneath the violets, reds, and blues that are washed over the surface. If the Aphrodite of Knidos wore a bracelet on her upper arm, it was probably gilded. In all periods, metal jewelry could be attached to female statues just as metal weapons, for instance, could be inserted into the hands of male warriors.

In addition to the material evidence, we can also turn to ancient literary sources to discover the role of color in the Knidian statue. At least two

references suggest that the figure received some kind of polychrome additions. The first occurs in Lucian (*Images* 6). He imagines a woman of perfect beauty whose sculpted form is derived from a combination of the most beautiful parts of statues by Pheidias, Alkamenes, and Praxiteles. When the modeling of the statue is completed, coloring and flesh tints are to be added by Polygnotos, Euphranor, Apelles, and others. The head of the Knidia is selected as one perfect part. Lucian's ideal woman is not nude but draped, so for the body he turns to the fifth-century sculptor Kalamis. Then the lips, eyes, brows, cheeks, hair, flesh, and gown are to be painted by several masters.

A second and seemingly more reliable reference to color additions is found in Pliny (*NH* 35.130–33). It is not only earlier in date than Lucian's but has specific biographical value not found in Lucian's ideal construct. Pliny's account concerns the fourth-century painter Nikias, an Athenian, "who painted women in a most detailed manner." Furthermore, "it was Nikias of whom Praxiteles used to say when asked which of his works he valued the most, 'those to which Nikias has applied his hand,' so greatly did he pay tribute to the way he [Nikias] applied paint to a surface." In this notice, Pliny links two very great fourth-century artists and implies that they worked side by side. Thus, it is supposed that Nikias painted the Aphrodite of Knidos in a detailed fashion. While Pliny's account is rare, if not unique, in recording the collaboration between a Greek painter and sculptor, we should bear in mind that neither it nor any other literary notice states that Nikias specifically painted the Aphrodite of Knidos. In chapter 2 I will say more about the polychromatic treatment of the statue, but in the meantime, in my view, there is no reason to conclude that the goddess was not painted in accordance with the custom of the period, so far as we understand it. Because "golden" is the most frequently used epithet in ancient literature for Aphrodite, we can deduce that her hair was colored yellow or perhaps gilded; her eyes, cheeks, lips, and jewelry were surely also painted. Perhaps a light tint was applied to her body; if so, it was unshaded and without light and dark nuances. The drapery in her hand was more than likely colored in strong, flat tones, and the vase near her left foot may have been gilded to imitate bronze. In general, however, gilding seems to have been added very sparingly in fourth-century sculpture. Lucian reveres the Knidia because of her radiant and moist eyes (*Images* 6). Some have wondered therefore if the eyes of the goddess were specked with white paint. Was this Nikias' idea? Such glints of light were apparently employed to lend a realistic effect to the battle scenes of the "Alexander" sarcophagus. The reliefs there, how-

ever, are illusionistically conceived, and their subject matter is grounded in historical events. Accordingly, the forms are deeply modeled and overlapping, then painted with a wide range of colors. The effect is appropriate for an impassioned battle scene contained in a framed panel rather than laid out as a long decorative frieze. But the same effect would hardly be suitable for a cult image like the Knidian Aphrodite, who stands so quietly and calmly.³

Polish

Was the surface of the Knidia polished? A late Greek epigram, perhaps by Antipater of Sidon, might be interpreted as a recognition of her glistening flesh and sensuality: “You will say, when you look on Cypris in rocky Knidos, that she, though of stone, may set a stone on fire. . . .” The passage from Lucian quoted at the beginning of this chapter shows that he is not specific on the matter of polish. But one might interpret the comments in his *Images* 6 on “the dewy quality of the eyes with their joyous radiance and welcoming look” and on the way in which “the recalcitrant and solid nature of the stone has become adapted to each limb” as indicative of a polished surface that reflected light. However, Lucian’s remarks are probably wishful thinking or poetic hyperbole, because an extremely high polish is more characteristic of the sculpture of his own day than of the sculpture of classical Greece.⁴

The question about the surface finish of the Knidia has been complicated by the discovery of the statue of Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos. When Pausanias was writing his guidebook to Greece around A.D. 150, he saw the statue in the temple of Hera at Olympia and attributed it to Praxiteles. German archaeologists recovered the figure during their excavations in 1877, and it was soon hailed as the only surviving original by one of the world’s great sculptors. As a truly magnificent work it met everyone’s expectations about the genius of Praxiteles, which had been formed primarily through a reading of ancient literary sources. Hermes’ rather effeminate grace also seemed consistent with Praxiteles’ fame as the author of the first large-scale sculpture of a nude woman, the Knidia.

3. Pliny’s statement on Nikias: Pollitt, *ibid.*, 170. On the Alexander sarcophagus: P.R. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm 1960) 84; C.M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*² (New York 1981) 191–92; B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I* (Madison 1990) 40.

4. Antipater’s epigram: *The Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library 1918) vol. 5, 257, no. 167. Lucian quote: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 86.

Hermes' pose follows a languid S-curve and one hip projects suggestively. His eyes are dreamily unfocused and his features and hair are impressionistically carved. The naked flesh of his smooth body has a remarkably pictorial finish. The statue of Hermes therefore seemed to furnish unmistakable proof that Lucian's description of the Knidia—to the effect that the solidity of the marble had dissolved and become pliable flesh—was correct and that Praxiteles was a master of sfumato effects and therefore unusually sensitive to the particular qualities of a woman's body.

Yet on various grounds it has turned out that the Hermes is not by the fourth-century Praxiteles but rather by a very accomplished later master, perhaps one of his descendants of the second century B.C. Thus its nuanced effects of light and shade cannot be used as an argument for a soft seductive surface for the Knidia.⁵

One scholar has conjectured that a glossy waxed polish over flesh sections of statuary was apparently applied no earlier than Hellenistic times. But a light buffing of marble statuary was quite common in both archaic and classical times and therefore was probably present also on the Knidia.⁶

Caution is necessary because of our limited knowledge of ancient painting and polishing practices, but I conclude that Praxiteles' polychromy was discreetly applied, that he was a traditionalist when it came to treating the surfaces of his marble figures, and that he introduced no startlingly new techniques in finishing his innovative nude statue. However, in chapter 2 we will see that the material and literary evidence pertaining to these matters has been interpreted in a quite different way.

Analysis of the Knidia's Stance

The contrapposto pose Praxiteles employed for his statue of the Aphrodite of Knidos of the mid-fourth century B.C. was not new to Greek art. An uneven distribution of weight began at least in the late archaic period (ca.

5. The controversy, still unresolved, over the date of the Hermes with Dionysos in Olympia has generated a voluminous bibliography. For a succinct review of the issues: Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, Eng. 1975) vol. 1, 386–87, vol. 2, fig. 125b; Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 14, 91.

6. On Hellenistic and earlier polish: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (New York 1985) 11; D.E.L. Haynes, "A Question of Polish," *Festschrift Ernst Homann-Wedeking* (Munich 1975) 131. Haynes detects polish on two figures from the Parthenon pediments.

490 B.C.). That this constituted a major change in the meaning and impact of the freestanding sculpted figure has always been understood.

The full meaning and expression of contrapposto is evident in the Doryphoros by Polykleitos, a classical figure of about 440 B.C. The original bronze statue disappeared centuries ago, but it is known from one of the best Roman copies in Naples (fig. 5). It represents a young nude male athlete carrying a spear, and it may illustrate Polykleitos' canon—which ancient literary sources inform us was a set of rules or laws by which absolute beauty is achieved. Pliny's claim that it was Polykleitos' invention to have his figures throw their weight on one leg (*NH* 34.56) is patently false. But the Doryphoros has been scrutinized, studied, and extolled as the most rational and most perfect embodiment of the contrapposto pose. Virtually every textbook on Greek art argues that a critical turning point was reached with this statue. Reflecting the Pythagorean theories of opposites, the Doryphoros has, according to some present-day writers, almost cosmic implications. Polykleitos may have attempted in sculpture to portray numerical harmonies that could lead to an ideal conception of human nature; perhaps he sought a divine pattern that expressed the essential nature of man in Pythagorean terms. The Doryphoros displays a living chiasmic balance, in which a supporting limb on one side of the body is countered by a relaxed element on the other. Rest and movement, contraction and expansion, are exactly calibrated and resolved. To K. Clark, Polykleitos was a single-minded intellectual and a "fighting highbrow" whose sole medium of communication was the naked body of an athlete, standing poised between movement and repose. To R. Carpenter the Doryphoros displays the essential qualities of Greek sculpture in its fully evolved formal state. The Doryphoros holds his head halfway between pride and meekness, which, like his poise and equilibrium, represent the mean, which is so central to Greek thought.⁷

Despite these definitive and high-minded statements, we should not suppose that they are relevant only to Polykleitos or to the one figure of the Doryphoros. Contrapposto is a frequent stance among the classical figures of pedestrians or ministrants—both men and women—of the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon. Such a pose is one of the primary reasons the procession produces a marvelous sense of serenity, dignity, and order. And what other mode of standing could possibly convey the absolute ease and yet reassuring stability so necessary for the supporting

7. Doryphoros: Naples, Archaeological Museum 6146; *LIMC* 1, s.v. "Achilleus," no. 908 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). K. Clark, *The Nude* (London 1956) 36–38; R. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture* (Chicago 1960) 108; A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* 2 vols. (New Haven 1990) 162.

maidens of the Erechtheum (fig. 6)? The structural clarity and logic that are demonstrated by the anatomical divisions of the Doryphoros are just as rationally and lucidly set forth in the Caryatids, where the drapery over the weight leg falls in columnar channels, the free leg breaks forward almost nakedly, and modeling folds trace the rhythmic movement of the torso.

The uneven loading of weight in the human figure that can be seen to evolve in Greek sculpture of the classical period creates above all an effect of self-confidence and autonomy. It is actually easier to stand in this way rather than rigidly erect, and the body can be held longer in such a position. The absence of strain inherent in the contrapposto pose was always recognized by later Greek artists, and they never tired of employing it. It was also used in Roman times, as we know from the long friezes of the Ara Pacis, where Augustus, his wife, and his family are supremely in command and yet nearby and accessible. The women of the Imperial house struck the same pose over and over again in their portrait statues. And so, because it had endless possibilities, it entered the permanent vocabulary of Western art.

Yet in Christian art it can convey a quite different meaning. Giotto used it rarely, but when a contrapposto stance is present in his paintings it denotes psychological conflict. It could be converted and altered by someone like Michelangelo to express a nonclassical disharmony between mind and body. In his monumental *David*, Michelangelo manipulates and distorts the classic contrapposto; he chops up the rhythm and enlarges and accentuates body parts. The supporting leg is too tense, the free leg loosely projects, so that load-bearing versus relaxed limbs, rather than being resolved and in ultimate balance, are exaggerated into an irreconcilable opposition. Raphael closely approached the harmony and equilibrium of Greek antiquity when he painted the divine grace of the Virgin. Her epiphany in the *Sistine Madonna* is portrayed by an unmistakable contrapposto. Nevertheless she floats, rather than stands, and her delicate feet are incapable of bearing the weight intrinsic to the contrapposto position.

The stance of the Aphrodite of Knidos is not substantially different from that of the Doryphoros. One is justified in writing rhapsodies about the Doryphoros' marvelous equilibrium. But the Knidia deserves no less. She was carved about one hundred years later, and that has made a difference in the flexibility and rhythm of her body. She does not lean on the drapery, and although her body can slightly tilt in some versions, the contrapposto is internally resolved. The weight-bearing right leg is counterbalanced by the weight-bearing left arm and hand in both the Dory-

phoros and the Knidia, and in the latter a sense of movement across and through the body is fully realized. The Doryphoros' feet are further apart, and there is uncertainty as to whether or not he is walking. There is no ambiguity in Aphrodite's pose; she is completely stationary, without any restlessness whatsoever. The attitude of the heads of the two figures might differ, although it seems probable that both were slightly lowered. Because neither figure meets the gaze of the spectator, the viewer is not challenged to question their isolation. The structured masculinity of the Polykleitan torso is naturally in contrast to the Knidia's softer, but discretely rounded, forms. Thinking in geometric terms was not peculiar to Polykleitos but was characteristic of classical art in general. Aphrodite's proportions may have been calculated on a simple mathematical scale, and it has been understood that she, like the Doryphoros, conforms to abstract harmonies. His pubic hair, sculpted in low relief, is a neat symmetrical design. She has no need of pubic hair, since her mature sexuality is visible through her whole body—in the roundness of her hips, in the developed breasts, and because girlish bones and muscles have been overlaid with a rich but firm surface of flesh. In sum, the sexuality of the two figures, which is inevitably called up by their nakedness, is expressed and yet curbed by the rational perfection of the pose. "Polykleitos announces not only the defining constituents of true human greatness, but how such greatness may be controlled, disciplined, and sustained." So does Praxiteles.⁸

The gesture of the goddess' right hand and arm, however, complicates her meaning and clearly distinguishes her from any ideal male figure. In many large-scale copies, the right hand either is missing or has been restored. But enough replicas exist, especially in reduced scale, to conclude that in the original statue the whole hand was relaxed with the fingers lightly extended, so that the palm was not pressed to the body. The arm itself is bent with a minimum of effort; indeed it almost seems to fall, in keeping with the classical contrapposto scheme.

Aphrodite's Bath

The foregoing analysis of the Aphrodite of Knidos was undertaken in some detail to recover as far as possible the fourth-century appearance of this famous statue. Although he was called on to conceive the first monumental female nude in Greek art, Praxiteles adhered to tradition in select-

8. On Aphrodite's proportions: Clark, *ibid.*, 84; Stewart, *ibid.*, 176. The quotation is from Stewart, 162.

ing a pose—where the weight is carried unevenly—that already had a long history in Greek art and that, in its familiarity, had strong exemplary significance. Polychromy and gilding may then have been applied with restraint and in accordance with current practice.

But, working in a time and place where patriarchal values were taken for granted, and as a man himself, was Praxiteles completely impervious to the erotic possibilities of his new subject? Is the male gaze not pertinent here? To come to some understanding of these questions, it is necessary to consider the pose of the Knidia in even more detail and to review the opinions of past art historians who, in my view, have clouded certain issues.

The Left Hand, Drapery, and Vase

Praxiteles' statue of Aphrodite for Knidos is cited nineteen times in ancient literary sources. But only the passage in Lucian makes any reference to her pose: "she held one hand in front of her to hide her modesty." No author mentions what the other hand was doing. However, the many replicas and coins substantiate that in her left hand she held a piece of drapery over a vase. For what reason? In 1873, J.J. Bernoulli, a Swiss archaeologist (1831–1913), provided an answer—and his answer is still accepted today.⁹

Bernoulli set out to classify for the first time all the representations of Aphrodite in Greek art. He collected examples from British and European museums and in all media and sizes. Yet his heart was in Rome, where Winckelmann's influence was still strong and where the various large and most famous marble figures of the goddess, especially in the Vatican museums, were available for study. Bernoulli relied on Winckelmann for his overall chronological and stylistic framework, and he searched the Greek and Roman literary sources for the names of the artists who had depicted Aphrodite.

Bernoulli asserted that a clothed ideal statue of Aphrodite was created in the fifth century B.C. during the period of Pheidias. A second ideal, and a fuller realization of the goddess' beauty, was conceived by Praxiteles in the fourth century. This was the Aphrodite of Knidos. In between these

9. For the literary sources on Praxiteles: J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig 1868; reprint Hildesheim 1959) nos. 1227–45; A. Corso, *Prassitele: Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie, Vita e Opere*, 3 vols., Xenia Quaderni 10 (Rome 1988). J.J. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite, Ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig 1873).

two major inventions, he argued that Aphrodite appears half-nude with a garment arranged around the lower part of her body. From this simple three-step evolutionary scheme—from fully clothed, to half-clothed, to complete nakedness—it is clear that Bernoulli was watching and estimating the degree of nudity in Aphrodite statuary. He tells us why: “It is not to be supposed that Aphrodite in round statuary would be represented fully naked before public sentiment was prepared for half-draped statues.”¹⁰

In saying this Bernoulli believed that he was stating an art historical position. Indeed, the position, amounting almost to a principle, has affected all subsequent investigations of the subject. Implied in the statement is his conviction that the Greeks of the fourth century would disapprove of a life-size statue of a completely undressed Aphrodite, an Olympian deity, unless they had been prepared by earlier works in which she appeared half-clothed. The shock, evidently, had to be reduced a little at a time. He was not alone, of course, in thinking this, and in making such a statement Bernoulli revealed his neoclassical background and training.

Nudity in art was an issue that preoccupied artists and theorists of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Reacting against the frivolity and sensuality of the rococo, neoclassicists sought the higher truths, the timelessness and virtue specially revealed, they thought, in ancient statuary. Eloquently argued by Winckelmann and others, this meant nudity should be an aesthetic ideal and an ennobling condition that conveyed a moral and spiritual message. However, it usually proved quite difficult to recognize this exalted ideal in the female nude, whereas the male nude seemed to embody it almost automatically.

A corollary of Bernoulli's art historical stand also had important ramifications, and it too has been adopted ever since. It takes for granted that the statue itself as object, was, so to speak, physically occupied by or identical with a living woman. It implied also that no decent woman, not even a goddess, would appear nude in public. Thus it became the scholar's duty to interpret how the woman/statue feels about her nakedness. To get an idea what this feeling might be, Bernoulli had only to take a look at what was happening around him. Even as he was writing, neoclassical sculptors continued to turn out scores of fetching naked females in white marble whose poses contrived to be both evocatively coy and chaste. Their breasts and genitals, concealed or revealed in cunning ways, seemed to preoccupy not only the artists but also the women them-

10. Bernoulli, *ibid.*, 137.

selves. Consequently, to Bernoulli, the Aphrodite of Knidos, the first woman/goddess to be placed in the predicament of totally unveiling herself, must surely betray some feelings of embarrassment in her pose or facial expression. As a matter of course, her personal awareness of this would be reflected in her facial expression and pose.¹¹

Bernoulli reasoned that Aphrodite's discomfort would be alleviated if her nude condition could be explained and justified. This would guarantee and secure her innate innocence. He believed that without such a formula Praxiteles would not have dared to make such a dramatic departure from tradition. Accordingly Bernoulli claimed that the artist chose to depict the goddess at her bath—even though no ancient author had said so. But for Bernoulli the bathing motif provided an excuse not only for the goddess' nakedness but also for the drapery and the vase at her side. A garment had to be nearby so that Aphrodite could grab it in an emergency and pull it around her in case anyone should unexpectedly come upon her. The vase contained the water for the bath.

However this did not entirely remove the possibility of embarrassment; indeed it was quite clear to Bernoulli that the goddess was aware of an observer because she turned her head away. Why else, moreover, would she cover her pubic area with one hand? Yet he also realized, just as we have, that the Knidia is an ideal figure, self-confident and completely without strain. As if to account for the apparent contradiction between the gesture of the right hand and the drapery, both shielding devices, as opposed to the serene pose and countenance, Bernoulli decided that her actions were only momentary and instinctive. The viewer presumably moves away, and her fears quickly evaporate, so that finally Aphrodite's purity and tranquility remain unimpaired.

There are Greek epigrams that might lead a reader to imagine that Aphrodite herself was as curious a spectator of her own statue on Knidos as any outsider. Once she decided to pay it a visit:

Paphian Cythera came through the sea at Knidos
 Wishing to see her own image
 Having gazed from every angle in that conspicuous space
 She cried: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"
 Praxiteles did not see what was unlawful.¹²

11. For examples of neoclassical sculptures: M. Rheims, *La Sculpture au XIX Siècle* (Paris 1972) chap. 1, figs. 24, 40–47.

12. Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 86.

The image referred to in the poem is obviously the statue by Praxiteles. In this case a vain Aphrodite is at once viewer and object viewed. Delighted with her own image, she moves all around to see her statue from every angle. She peers at it as if it were a work of art, the work of art being herself. Is it the statue or the living goddess she admires? It is like looking into a mirror, another of Aphrodite's favorite pastimes, where her image is projected twice and where her power is therefore doubled. In this epigram, then, the idea of the gaze of the viewer—any viewer—is very important. It is therefore understandable that any well-read classical scholar, such as Bernoulli, who was acquainted with poems of this sort, would feel compelled to deal with the Knidia's supposed state of mind and in a sense to place himself or herself in the position of the observer. Bernoulli then gallantly introduced a theory to excuse her naked condition. But what is so often overlooked is the fact that this epigram and the others like it are not contemporary with the Knidia. The one quoted above is attributed to Plato Junior, who perhaps wrote in the later first century B.C.¹³

That the Knidian Aphrodite was thought by Bernoulli to be engaged in a bath served well as a practical pretext for her nudity. Washing the hands or immersion of the whole body had widespread religious significance in classical antiquity. All water—from a spring, a river, or the sea—was regarded as clean, fresh, and rejuvenating. As one of the ceremonies conducted at Eleusis, bathing was highly important. Before entering the sanctuary of Demeter, women washed their hands in a basin as a purification ritual. Later they went together into the sea as a rite of initiation and to promote fecundity. According to Athenaeus, Phryne, the model for Praxiteles' Knidia, participated in that ceremony and in a similar one at the sanctuary of Poseidon. Sculpted images of divinities, both male and female, could be ceremonially bathed, perfumed, and ornamented as if they were alive.¹⁴

13. On women and mirrors: A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York 1978) 396–98. Concerning the epigram, A.H. Borbein thinks this Plato could be a contemporary of Cicero: "Die griechische Statue des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: Formalanalytische Untersuchungen zur Kunst der Nachklassik," *JdI* 88 (1973) 190, n. 642. D.L. Page surmises that he lived in the first century A.C.: *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, Eng. 1981) 82. Pollitt, *ibid.*, 283: "date uncertain."

14. For bathing in antiquity: R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutike* (Paris 1962); R. Jackson, "Waters and Spas in the Classical World," *Medical History of Waters and Spas*, Supplement 10, ed. R. Porter (London 1990) 1–12; F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992) chap. 1, 314–17; R. Parker, *Miasma, Pollution, and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983) chap. 1. J.M. Mansfield has collected the literary sources and some of the artistic evidence for the bathing of cult statues in *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic "Peplos"* (Diss. University of California, Berkeley 1985) 568–84.

But goddesses rather than gods seem to have enjoyed complete immersion. The mythic baths of Hera, Zeus' consort, regularly restored her virginity. For the virginal Artemis and Athena, however, their baths could be rituals of purification or of renewed empowerment and youthfulness.

But no Greek divinity enjoyed bathing more than Aphrodite. She had initially emerged from water: Hesiod informs us that she was born in the sea from the foam that collected around the severed sexual organs of Uranus, the god of the heavens (*Theogony* 188–99). She approached the island of Cythera and then had a very long swim until she came ashore to her own sacred home on Cyprus. Thus, because of her marine origin, the ritual bathing of Aphrodite was particularly important in her cult. Ovid relates how on the first day of April at the annual festival to Venus in Rome, the women worshipers remove the clothing and jewelry from the marble statue of the goddess and dip it from head to toe in a pool or in the sea (*Fasti* 4.136–39).

Two incidents in archaic Greek poetry where Aphrodite journeys to her shrine at Paphos on Cyprus to bathe lead one to wonder if her ancient statue there was honored with ritual baths. Both poems are concerned with lovemaking. Both before and afterward she goes back home to her own sacred setting to take her bath. In the fifth Homeric *Hymn*, a living Aphrodite washes and perfumes her body in Paphos in preparation for her seduction of Anchises. In the *Odyssey* (8.362–66), the singer of tales, Demodokos, narrates how after Ares and Aphrodite rose from their bed, the goddess “went back to Paphos on Cyprus, where lies her sacred precinct and her smoky altar, and there the Graces bathed her and anointed her with ambrosial oil, such as abounds for the gods who are everlasting, and put delightful clothing about her, a wonder to look on.” Water and bathing refreshed and regenerated the goddess of sex; it did not morally purify her or restore what she had never possessed: virginity.¹⁵

The bathing of one's body frequently has sexual connotations in Greek literature even when Aphrodite is not involved. Europa, shortly before her seduction by Zeus, dances with her friends and makes her body bright at the mouth of a torrent (Moschos, *Europa* 31–32); and the three deities who sought Paris' favor—Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite—first bathed in a mountain pool and enjoyed it enormously (Euripides, *Andromache* 284–89). In general bathing seems to be a favorite, but not an exclusive, female

15. Excerpt from Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. with intro. by R. Lattimore (New York 1967). On Aphrodite and virginity: P. Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago 1978) 86–87.

pastime. Odysseus, for example, gives himself one of the most delicious baths in all ancient literature (*Odyssey* 6.223–38); he scrubs his back, washes his hair, perfumes himself, and puts on new clothes. Nausicaa, who sees the finished product, takes him for a god and yearns to find such a man for her husband.

In Greek and Roman antiquity, bathing and swimming were hygienic and restorative pleasures enjoyed by men but especially by women, including female divinities. Religious purification, fecundity, and well-being before and renewal after sex were benefits bestowed by washing the whole or parts of the body in the sea, in a fresh water pool, or in a basin set up in the house or court. While in general these ablutions might make one feel better both inside and outside, there is no suggestion that they were expected to cleanse the soul in the sense that a Christian baptism could wash away sin. Women were never seen as impure beings.¹⁶

The analysis of the Aphrodite of Knidos conducted by Bernoulli was in part based on his interpretation of the inner mood of the woman represented. He presumed to know what it is like to be a woman, or even a goddess, all alone having a bath. In so doing he was bound to betray a nineteenth-century point of view. He may have been associating the action he thought he saw in the statue with contemporary notions that washing the body assisted in conferring moral purity on the soul—especially on the souls of those most in need: the poor of society, including prostitutes. Virginity, a major concern of the nineteenth-century male, might be metaphorically restored with a good scrub. One young man who was in Paris in 1840 was incredulous at the amount of water used by courtesans. In addition, cholera epidemics were a recurring horror in the nineteenth century, and as a remedy, beginning in the 1850s, water supplies and drainage systems were introduced. Perhaps even more important, at this time private rather than communal bathing began to be customary. For the first time also the washing of genitals behind closed doors became a necessity. Surely then Bernoulli could not entirely avoid thinking that there was a logical link between Phryne as a member of the demimonde and impurity and bathing, and that the Knidia's handy garment reflected her need for privacy. Comparable is the way the French painter Degas depicted the bathtubs and solitary sponge baths of prostitutes of the period. T.J. Clark, in his book on Manet and his followers, has stated that it was an "established critical tactic in the 1860s to detect the contemporary, even the

16. See J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd (Sussex 1980) 112; Parker, *Miasma*, 100–103.

bourgeois, *courtisane* beneath the skin of a Venus or Phryne." J.M.W. Turner portrayed "Phryne going to the public bath as Venus," and the courtesan's bathing adventure at Eleusis so intrigued Frederic Leighton that he made it the subject of one of his paintings.¹⁷

Christian Blinkenberg wrote the first monograph on the Knidian Aphrodite in 1933, and one of his aims was to determine the most reliable among the many existing copies of the statue. His conclusion was accepted at the time and still often is. Conveniently he believed he found the two most likely candidates together in one museum, the Vatican, in Rome. They were the so-called Colonna Aphrodite (fig. 1) and the Belvedere Aphrodite (fig. 2). They had been in the Vatican collection a very long time: the Colonna since 1781, and the Belvedere since 1536.¹⁸

In seeking the more accurate copy, Blinkenberg considered that the bathing motif was the crucial criterion. To understand it fully, he endeavored to determine exactly what moment of her bath Praxiteles had depicted. It appeared to him that the goddess in the Colonna version is just at the point of bathing. She has taken off her garments, which are being gently lowered to rest on the hydria. She is still quite unconscious that any intruder might be looking at her; this accounts for her serene expression. To him, then, the Colonna copy reflected the original fourth-century masterpiece. He argued that the movement of the goddess in the Belvedere copy is more complicated. She too has just undressed in preparation for the bath, but her left arm is bent more sharply and is closer to the body. Thus, rather than dropping her garment, she seems instead to be pulling it protectively toward herself as if she had either seen or heard the approach of a man. For the same reason, her head is turned further to the side. Perhaps she feels unable to face the spectator; perhaps she is trying to see the intruder. These features were signs of her troubled and anxious

17. The young man in Paris: G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng. 1988) 193–94. On bathing and cleanliness in the nineteenth century: F.F. Cartwright, *A Social History of Medicine* (London 1977); E. Shorter, *A History of Women's Bodies* (New York 1982); A. Wohl, *Endangered Lives* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983); R.J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830–1910* (Oxford 1987). Bathtubs were one of the signs of the prostitute in late nineteenth-century France. See E. Lipton, *Looking into Degas* (Berkeley 1986) chap. 4. For the phenomenon of prostitution in France in the nineteenth century and its manifestations in the art and literature of the period: B. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity* (New York 1986); C. Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill-Repute* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989). T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (New York 1984) 86.

18. Colonna Aphrodite: Vatican Museum 812; LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 390 (A. Delivorrias). Belvedere Aphrodite: Vatican Magazine 4260; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven 1981) 330–31.

state of mind. Therefore Blinkenberg said the Belvedere copy was adapted not from Praxiteles' archetype but from a later Hellenistic variation.¹⁹

However, in 1985, M. Pfrommer examined the attributes of the same two copies selected by Blinkenberg, particularly the drapery and the ornament on the hydria, and concluded that a chronological distinction could not be made. Both showed late Hellenistic elements.²⁰ Even if the Knidia could not be known in every detail, Pfrommer observed that two features of her pose were definitive: the turn of the head and the gesture of the right hand over the pubic area. Therefore, while it might not be valid to distinguish between a tranquil and a disturbed goddess as Blinkenberg had done, Pfrommer decided on the basis of these two features that the presence of an imaginary observer was part of Praxiteles' original conception.

The Turn of the Head and the Gesture of the Right Hand

In 1943 Gerhart Rodenwaldt had argued against the long-held view that the nudity of the Aphrodite of Knidos should be explained in such human terms. Precisely because she was a divinity and not a woman, she alone had the right to appear naked. He contended that the gesture of her right hand arose not from any uneasiness or need to protect herself but from natural modesty, and that the turn of her head had nothing to do with a beholder. Supported by A.H. Borbein twenty years later, Rodenwaldt believed that the goddess was heroically nude, in the same way as statues of Apollo. She was a completely religious image, alone in her shrine and, to use Borbein's wording, not a partner with anyone.²¹

On the basis of Roman coins and the many copies in round sculpture of the Knidia, it is clear that the goddess' head was turned slightly to her left. Does the position actually signify the presence of a viewer? There are passages in Greek literature that suggest this might be the case. In Homeric *Hymn* 5, Aphrodite disguises herself as a maiden to seduce Anchises. First she tries to soften him up with words, and then she turns her

19. C.S. Blinkenberg, *Knidia* (Copenhagen 1933) 47–52.

20. M. Pfrommer, "Zur Venus Colonna: Ein späthellenistische Redaktion der Knidischen Aphrodite," *IstMitt* 35 (1985) 173–80. H. von Steuben believes the Colonna copy is the most reliable version of Praxiteles' statue even if, as Pfrommer argued, the shawl and bracelet do not have exact fourth-century parallels, and V. Mandel, C. Reinsberg, and E. Kelperi try to show that these attributes of the Colonna type may have fourth-century roots; see respective articles by all four authors in *IstMitt* 39 (1989) 535–60.

21. G. Rodenwaldt, "theoi rheia zoontes," *AbhBerl* 14 (1943). Borbein, "Die griechische Statue," 173–78, 188–94.

face away from him, casting her eyes downward like a shy young virgin. This pose is what finally convinces Anchises that she is mortal and that it is safe to sleep with her. But Aphrodite is actually neither mortal nor chaste, and on a different occasion, as a bona fide goddess, she jumps into bed with her equal Ares, the god of war, without any pretence of modesty (*Odyssey* 8.290). As a religious image, as an Olympian deity, standing on her own rather than in a narrative context, there is no reason why Praxiteles' Aphrodite should turn her head as if she were a bashful young girl. Innocence is irrelevant in considering Aphrodite. The leftward turn of the Knidia's head is, in my view, not determined because the goddess shyly averts her glance or because she senses or actually sees an intruder. Like the bearing of the head in the *Doryphoros* (fig. 5), the turn of the Knidia's head is the consequence of the formal and abstract conception embodied in the contrapposto position of her body.

The first extant reference to the specific gesture of Aphrodite's right hand in the statue at Knidos is found in the *Amores* by Lucian (13–14), where he states that her nudity is complete except that she holds one hand in front of her to hide her "modesty" (*aidos*). The word *aidos* in Greek literature has a wide range of meanings. It literally means reverence, awe, or respect; a sense of honor and shame are additional translations. A derivative is *aidoia*, which refers to the genitals of either sex; their covering or uncovering also seems to be implied. Also connected to the Greek word *aidos* is the experience of sight and being seen. To cover or protect one's genitals from the spectator's eyes in Greek usage, however, implies not the guilt or disgust that it often suggests in the nineteenth century and even in modern writing when referring to female nudity in Greece, but rather decorum, propriety, and self-respecting modesty.²²

We must now try to discover for ourselves what the gesture of the Knidia's right hand may have meant to Praxiteles and to the viewers of the fourth century B.C. Would they indeed have been embarrassed by her nudity as Bernoulli believed? To answer these questions, we will consider the possible origin and meaning of the gesture, the history of nudity in Greece, and the function of drapery as clothing for the female body in classical Greek literature and art.

Blinkenberg had proposed that Praxiteles' figure was intended as a cult statue for the goddess in association with seafaring. This cult of Aphrodite

22. On *aidos*; D.L. Cairns, *Aidos: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford 1993); G. Ferrari, "Figures of Speech: The Picture of *Aidos*," *Metis* 5 (1990) 189; B. Williams, *Shame and Necessity* (Berkeley 1993) 78, 89.

Euploia (“fair voyage”) had been brought from Cyprus to Knidos in the very early archaic period, and the first figurines of the goddess used in her worship were characteristic nature or fertility icons. They were represented standing rigidly, totally naked, and holding a hand cupped under or on a breast, with the other hand lying over the belly, sometimes seeming to point to the genitals, sometimes, though extremely rarely, covering them (fig. 7). Thus, Blinkenberg continued, the people of Knidos were accustomed to nude renderings of their major deity. They would have expected Praxiteles to adhere to tradition in creating for the first time her large-scale image for their local sanctuary. However Blinkenberg added that the motivation for the nudity was altered by Praxiteles. Instead of stressing the reproductive and nurturing areas of the female body as seen in the early icons, he invented the bath as a pretext for her nudity. Just as Pheidias’ colossal statue of Athena Parthenos had enhanced the significance of the city goddess of Athens, so Praxiteles created for Knidos a large-scale goddess at her bath in a manner befitting a heavenly Olympian. We recall that this is supposed to explain the Knidia’s detachment and purity, which Blinkenberg thought was best revealed in the Colonna copy. What should be noted here is that if the Knidians of the fourth century found Aphrodite’s nudity familiar and acceptable, then the sensational reactions to the figure that are recorded in later literary sources will have to be explained. That issue will occupy us in chapters 2 and 3.²³

There are passages in Greek literature of the classical period that may throw light on the significance of the Knidia’s gesture. They reveal, in general, that ordinary women were expected to be restrained in their deportment and to avoid exposing themselves to unauthorized viewers. Gyges glimpsed the naked wife of an early Lydian king. Her body, the sole possession of her husband, was not to be shared. Thus at her demand, the deed to the property, that is to herself, was transferred to Gyges, who displaced the husband as both spouse and king. The tale is told by Herodotus (1.10) about non-Greeks, but it probably represents the Hellenic view. If anything, the story illustrates the high value placed on the female body. Civilized behavior did seem to require that women cover their genitals. In Euripides’ *Hecuba* (554–60), Polyxena, shorn of her garments after Achilles’ blow, still manages to collapse to the ground without revealing what was “not meant for men’s eyes.” Phaedra in the *Hippolytus*

23. Idol: Copenhagen, National Museum 3719; LIMC 2 s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 364, late seventh century B.C. For a discussion and illustration of early goddesses: D. Böhm, *Die “Näcke Göttin”: Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter weiblicher Figuren in der frühgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz 1990).

(293–96), again by Euripides, seems to have been too shy to discuss a gynecological ailment with her doctor.²⁴

However, women were not always singled out. Apparently men could sometimes be inhibited when it came to personal medical matters. It was thought too that men should observe proper deportment. Odysseus, for instance, thoughtfully covers his nudity with a leafy branch when Nausicaa approaches (*Odyssey* 6.127–29). He does so out of deference to her status as a princess and as a virgin. Later Nausicaa orders her maids to bathe him in the flowing river. Odysseus declines, not because he is ashamed to be seen, but because, as he tells them, they are young and pretty. In declining their services, he flatters them and acts like a potential well-mannered suitor rather than their superior. He does not object when an old female servant later bathes him (*Odyssey* 6.127–224; 23.153–55).²⁵

The literary source most germane to an understanding of Greek nudity and the Knidia's gesture in the fourth century B.C. (ca. 354) is almost exactly contemporary with Praxiteles' statue. This is a story related by Xenophon in *Memorabilia* (3.11) in which Socrates and his friends, in pursuit of a philosophical definition of love, decide to visit the home of a courtesan named Theodote. They had been told that "her beauty was beyond description and . . . artists visited her to paint her picture, and she let them see as much of her as was proper." The friends arrive while she is posing, and they "took a good look at her." Theodote is not a bit embarrassed, but we do not learn what exactly Socrates saw. Nor are we told what Theodote did. It is possible she turned her back or placed one of her hands or a piece of drapery over her genitals, but such details did not interest Xenophon. Her beauty made the visitors want to touch her, but the conversation turns immediately to professional matters, and most of the narrative concerns Theodote's technique for attracting more clients. Above all, one is impressed by her wealth, nonchalance, and businesslike reception of her male visitors, rather than by any anxiety about her nakedness. There is no condescension or moralizing about her profession. We could infer from the *Republic* (5.452a–e) that if Plato had been there he would have laughed.²⁶

24. A. Rousselle provides other, mostly later, evidence that Greek women were not willing to be examined by men and consequently probably knew more about themselves than doctors did: *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity* (Oxford 1988) 26–33.

25. For male inhibitions: G.E.R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore, and Ideology* (Cambridge, Eng. 1983) 78, n. 76.

26. Xenophon, *Memoirs of Socrates and the Symposium*, trans. H. Tredennick (Penguin Books 1970) 163–67.

Ordinary Greek women, then, were advised to be modest. But, to judge again from Greek literary sources, goddesses had a different, if not a more acute, problem. *Hymn 5* by Callimachus (in the first half of the third century B.C.) is dedicated to Athena, and she herself states the problem clearly: "Whoever sees one of the immortals at a moment not of their choosing, must pay dearly for the sight." This suggests that a deity is deprived of power if the choice of being seen is preempted by a mortal. The consequences can be dire. Callimachus tells the story of the youthful and innocent Actaeon, who came upon the virgin goddess Artemis at her bath. For punishment he was hacked to death by his own dogs. In the same *Hymn*, Teiresias is struck blind because he inadvertently sees Athena bathing in a mountain stream. To maintain control, Athena often disguises herself in Greek poetry. Male deities were not to be seen by mortals either—hence Zeus' many transformations.²⁷

Aphrodite was conceived in the sea from the semen of the god Uranus. Her very birth has a sexual context, and she was never a virgin. But to pretend she was one is perhaps her most clever disguise. Knowing that Anchises would not knowingly sleep with a goddess, she dresses like a maiden in Homeric *Hymn 5*. It is her decision to allow him to undress her. It was also her decision to show herself to him in her fully divine form when she put her clothes back on after they had made love. For Aphrodite it seems that power, more than nudity, is the main issue.

Turning to the visual arts in classical Greece, there does not appear to be a hard and fast taboo against showing mortal women nude. During the fifth and fourth centuries, naked grown-up female "dolls" were extremely popular in the Mediterranean world. To judge from a grave relief, young girls felt no embarrassment in playing with them. In red-figure vase paintings of the fifth century, nakedness in women engaged in the sexual act is common. It is usually assumed that they are prostitutes, but they are more likely to represent not a particular class of women but simply young and healthy females performing in an uninhibited fashion acts that reflect the fantasies of the male viewer or artist. M. Kilmer has collected instances in late archaic vase painting to demonstrate that Greek artists of that period, "far from avoiding displays of female genitals . . . often went out of their way to include them in a variety of situations." Some of his examples are quite startling, and it is not obvious that these immodest women are hetairai or prostitutes, or that scholarly attempts to make such

27. Quote from K.J. McKay, *The Poet at Play, Kallimachos, The Bath of Pallas* (Leiden 1962) 7.

a determination are relevant. To what extent genre scenes painted on Greek vases reproduce actual Greek life is, in any case, a moot question.²⁸

Threatened with rape, a woman collapses under an icon of Artemis in the temple frieze from Bassae (fig. 8). Her large, heavy body is turned out in full view, and her head lolls back in despair. The garment being torn away by the centaur is almost in shreds. It is a pitiful sight. But the woman fails to achieve what Polyxena did—her pubic triangle is exposed. The Stumbling Niobid in the National Museum in Rome is another woman in distress. Usually considered a Greek original of about 440–430 B.C., the figure may have come from South Italy, and she appears to belong to a group designed to be set in an architectural setting. She kneels, with her head thrown back pathetically, and her falling garment leaves her naked torso framed by drapery folds. The nudity of these women implies vulnerability and defeat—as if they were warriors stripped of their armor on the battlefield.²⁹

If we wish to evaluate the gesture of the Knidia's right hand as a masking instrument, we should also consider the role of clothing in Greek literature and art. Does it in fact conceal and protect the body beneath? Is its purpose to cover erotic areas, or is it instead a clever device to prevent us from forgetting them? If a female statue wears a Greek dress, does that mean she is neither naked nor exposed? Should we not qualify the often stated claim that female nudity was unacceptable for respectable women before the fourth century? As we seek answers to these questions, we will discover that Greek poets and sculptors were eminently resourceful and inventive.

From the archaic period on, certain literary passages describe the dress-

28. For the grave relief: *Aspects of Ancient Greece* (Exhibition, Allentown Art Museum 1979) no. 123. M. Beard observes that wife versus hetaira are not clearly distinguished stereotypes on Greek painted vases: "Adopting an Approach," in *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. R. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (Cambridge, Eng. 1991) 26–30. Also see D. Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (Detroit 1983) 92–106. M. Kilmer, "Genital Phobia and Depilation," *JHS* 102 (1982) 104–12. For a perceptive account of nudity in paintings on archaic and classical Attic vases: R.F. Sutton, "Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. A. Richlin (Oxford 1991) 3–35, esp. 21–24.

29. Bassae frieze: London, British Museum 524. The Stumbling Niobid: B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1981) 55–59, pl. 25; E. La Rocca, "Le sculpture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano a Roma," *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* 2 (Mainz 1986) 51–57; R.M. Cook, "The Pediment of Apollo Sosianus," *AA* 1989, 525–28; G. Hafner, "Die beim Apollotempel in Rom gefundenen griechischen Skulpturen," *JdI* 107 (1992) 17–32. The figure has no real parallels in the fifth century that I know of, which causes me to feel uncertain that it is a Greek original.

ing and undressing of a woman. Nudity as such is not mentioned, though of course it is implied. Instead the garments themselves are lovingly described in a way that imbues these passages with a highly charged sexual excitement and anticipation. The beauty of the adornment itself is a reflection of the beauty of the body, and the act of removing the clothing is integral to the entire process of lovemaking. Perhaps the most evocative example is contained in the fifth Homeric *Hymn* to Aphrodite, already mentioned, in which the goddess, disguised as a mortal maiden, readied herself to seduce Anchises. First the Graces bathed and anointed her with heavenly oil, during which one could imaginatively glimpse her naked figure. Then she put on gilded embroidered robes, tied them with a belt, and added earrings, brooches, and necklaces. When Anchises first sees her, however, it is not just the richness of her garments and jewelry that he notices but her body as a whole, the way she walks and her height, even the roundness of her breasts. Thus it is almost impossible to think of Aphrodite's drapery, which we suppose is transparent, as a separate entity either to be discarded or required for the protection of her modesty. Eventually Anchises takes everything off, item by item, and carefully puts it all down on a silver chair. The disrobing is of course a form of foreplay, and the slowness of the procedure is striking.³⁰

The need to be bathed, perfumed, and newly adorned before lovemaking seems equally important for men. Near the end of the *Odyssey* (23.156–65) Penelope tests Odysseus concerning the bed he had built long ago. The episode precedes her final capitulation, and Odysseus has come fully prepared, having had a bath and a rubdown with oil, and having put on fresh garments.

The blurring or inseparability of the garment and nude body can also be found in Hellenistic poetry. Apollonios Rhodios (third century B.C.) describes Medea's preparation for her first meeting with Jason in the *Argonautica* (3.827–33). She begins by having a bath as Aphrodite did, and we can visualize Medea's body shining with perfume and her hair falling around her shoulders. After the bath she dons a beautiful robe adorned with brooches and throws a silver veil over her head. The result is not wasted on Jason, who admires her lovely form and falls in love with her. But well before this, Jason's fully clothed beauty and grace, as well as his blonde hair, made Medea sick with desire for him. She obsessively recalls exactly how he was dressed, the way he sat, and how he

30. This and other seduction scenes in early Greek poetry are analyzed by C.A. Sowa, *Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns* (Chicago 1984) chap. 3.

moved around the room (3.450–60). Clothing in these poetic passages seems not a device for concealment but, on the contrary, a way of making us deliberately and intensely aware of the sensuous body itself—both male and female.

In Greek painting and sculpture of almost any period, there is a unique coordination of the body—female as well as male—and its clothing. This is true even when the garment extends from head to foot. The body *per se* always seems assertive, even dominant.

An early instance is Greek bronze armor of the archaic period imprinted with lines depicting the divisions of chest, ribs, and abdomen. It was designed to reflect human anatomy to such an extent that it seemed to be thought of as identical with or even as a substitute for the male torso. This kind of interdependence is continued throughout antiquity and is evident, for instance, in the chest armor of the famous Roman statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.³¹

The procedures of the Woman Painter, a master of the white-ground technique, are pertinent here because it appears he conceived his men and women as naked bodies, which he drew first in considerable detail. The lekythos in figure 9 is in Athens, and it depicts two young women, one seated at a tomb, the other bringing in a large tray of fruits. Their sorrow, which is unspoken, is very simply indicated by their bowed heads. With a sure hand, their breasts, torsos, and thighs are first outlined by the artist. But disinclined to think of them independently of their clothing, he then added the contours of the drapery. Finally he applied flat color around and above them, allowing the lines to show through.³²

The contrast between the unabashed nakedness of the male kouros statue and the fully draped maidens, or korai, of the Greek archaic period is often noted. But a closer look at the korai, especially those carved by Athenian sculptors and found on the Acropolis, indicate that, at least in art, the distinction between male and female is not quite so simple or clear-cut. The draperies are arranged in such a way that the korai are far from being desexed or degendered. Kore 675 is a superb example (fig. 10). Of course her smile is irresistible, and so is the richly painted ornamentation of her pleated shawl and skirt, but neither of these would be so telling if it were not for the articulation of her nubile body. Her high breasts are modeled by six well-spaced, falling locks of hair, and the

31. For a good example of anatomical armor in painting by the Niobid Painter (ca. 460 B.C.): P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Greek Vase Painting* (New York n.d.) fig. 179. The contrast is with early Medieval armor.

32. Lekythos: Athens, National Museum 1956.

buttocks and thighs are accentuated by a skintight skirt that she herself tightens over her body. Some of these statues represented maidens rather than divinities and were votive gifts offered by men. Their revealing drapery was therefore probably deliberately intended to intensify their physical attractiveness. Indeed, to judge by a fragment of Sappho's poetry, the girls themselves at that time knew exactly how to gather their dress around their hips to their best advantage.³³

The extraordinary interdependence of body and drapery in Greek art is evident in the east pediment of the Parthenon. Toward the right corner, the opulent figure of Aphrodite languishes in the lap of another woman, usually identified as her mother (fig. 11). Aphrodite's nonchalance expresses her lack of self-consciousness and her utter indifference to any male observer. Her pubic zone is indeed covered, but its precise location and vitality are indicated by the converging and undulating drapery folds. One breast is hardly cloaked, and the chiton slips off her shoulder. Can we assume that the sculptor was intent on obscuring the female body—or even placing any part of it off limits? In contrast, it is worth recalling how the human form is overpowered, hidden, and obscured under expressive lines or bulky drapery in medieval sculpture and in much baroque sculpture as well.³⁴

Finally, the Aphrodite of Knidos was not the first representation of the goddess to be shown fully nude. Terracotta renderings enjoyed wide distribution from the eighth to the sixth centuries B.C. in the eastern Mediterranean. Moldmade figurines of a standing naked goddess of the first half of the sixth century were also found at Paestum, and they may be identified as Aphrodite. Still later, she may be recognized in the woman crouching on an Attic lekythos in Berlin of the late fifth century, while a shower of water is poured over her hair and body (fig. 25). She fingers her soaking and abundant hair; actually what is to be done about wet hair is a preoccupation of some of our Aphrodite types. The crouching pose in this example is also a theme that prefigures one of the statue types discussed in chapter 4.³⁵

33. Kore: Athens, Acropolis Museum 675. Did Hesiod like tight skirts? Cf. H.D. Rankin, *Archilochus of Paros* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1977) 60, 121, n. 30.

34. Parthenon pediment: London, British Museum, Aphrodite (M). M. Warner discusses the meaning of the "slipped chiton" in Greek art: *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Body* (New York 1985) 277–83.

35. On earlier nude Aphrodites: N. Himmelmann-Wildschutz, "Zur Knidischen Aphrodite," *MarbWPr* 1957, 11–16. Paestum terracottas: R.M. Ammerman, "The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum," *AJA* 95 (1991) 203–30. Attic lekythos in Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 2707, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 988.

In view of the close marriage of the body and its covering in both the literary and the plastic arts of Greece, and because the composition and coloring of the Aphrodite of Knidos probably were calculated not to invite lustful glances or bold approaches but rather to inspire religious awe, we can now only conclude that in the fourth century B.C. the statue did not evoke the kind of moral reaction initially claimed by Bernoulli.

We should also question whether nudity meant the same to the classical Greeks—to Praxiteles in particular—as it does sometimes to modern critics. We tend to see it rather narrowly—at least in women—as an outright, even immoral, offer of sex, whereas the Greeks, to whom sexuality was not so prescriptive, seem to have regarded nudity in a broader context as a display of power and liberty. There was not an inherent contradiction between divinity and the exposure of the body. If a water vessel and a garment are placed near the Knidia, this need not be a pretext for depicting her nude. Her nakedness, on the contrary, refers to her divine birth in the sea and, by implication, to her seafaring responsibilities as Aphrodite Euploia at Knidos. The full revelation of her beauty is a recognition that the sight of her could epitomize the nature of desire and therefore could render her power explicit. The drapery need not be a necessity required to furnish a way out if an intruder interfered, but may rather be a formal device to unite the goddess with the nearby vase, which is so important to the meaning of the whole. As an attribute, the hydria, a water vessel, implies the wide range of her powers, her fertility, her unending freshness and youth.³⁶

The gesture of the right hand of the Aphrodite of Knidos is undeniably riveting. Because it conceals, it forces the spectator to imagine what is behind it and to recognize its importance. The placement of the hand must be understood as a motif designed explicitly to screen the goddess' "modesty" and, at the same time, to celebrate it. Was the concealment also meant to save the observer from Actaeon's fate and Teiresias' blindness? The answer would seem to be yes. For not only would exposing the ultimate source of her power harm the mortal viewer, but even more importantly, the revelation would diminish the goddess' divine authority.

The gesture is the first of its kind in Greek art, and it carries some

36. The humiliation and vulnerability that may be felt in modern nakedness is discussed by M. Gill, *Image of the Body: Aspects of the Nude* (New York 1989). On Greek and Roman views of sexuality: M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. R. Hurley (New York 1985) 15–48; J.J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York 1990) intro.; P. Brown, "Bodies and Minds: Sexuality and Renunciation in Early Christianity," in *Before Sexuality*, ed. D. M. Halperin et al. (Princeton 1990) 479–93.

ambiguity. Yet the motif also had a certain cultural history. The memory of earlier figurines whose gestures emphasize the fertile and nurturing regions of a woman's body seems to have contributed to Praxiteles' composition. We also recall that decorous behavior was traditionally expected of women and men, both mortal and immortal. Altogether then, the gesture is complicated and its meaning embraces diverse customs and religious traditions.³⁷

Borbein convincingly argues that the original setting was probably a shrine open only on the front and too small to be entered by a viewer. We agree with him that Praxiteles conceived the goddess as a corporeal vision, isolated in her own space, silent and serene. A fourth-century spectator, distanced by the architectural enframement, would marvel and exult in the heavenly apparition of the goddess of love. I question that he was expected to feel privileged to have chanced upon a naked woman at her private bath.

37. See the distinctions between the involuntary versus the conventional in the language of gesture suggested by M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (New York 1987) 1–5.

Chapter 2

Praxiteles' Place in the History of Greek Art

Two schemes for the development of Greek art were prevalent in ancient Greece and Rome. The earlier one was probably devised in general outline by Xenocrates, an Athenian sculptor of the third century B.C. and the so-called grandfather of art history. His views are imbedded in the writings of Pliny the Elder (NH 34.54–65). According to Pliny, early (archaic) Greek art is hardly art at all, and he almost ignores it. It was a stage of “rude antiquity” (*rudis antiquitas*). Subsequent artists made improvements in technique and in movement and naturalism. The art of sculpture was not “opened up” until Pheidias or “refined” before Polykleitos in the fifth century.¹

When he turns his discussion from bronze to marble statuary, Pliny clearly reverences the fourth-century artist Praxiteles. Further, we may infer from the progressive scheme he sets forth that Pliny thought Praxiteles superior to both Polykleitos and Pheidias because he more closely imitated nature. The “best of all” is the Aphrodite of Knidos, and he writes at length of its fame and location. The concluding master of the development is Lysippos. He summed up and brought to full fruition the characteristics nascent in the work of his predecessors. Nature was his teacher, down to the smallest details, and men were finally represented naturalistically, or “as they appeared.” Apelles, an artist in the late fourth century and a contemporary of Lysippos, was Pliny’s favorite painter. He then states that not long afterward, “art thereupon gave up” (*cessavit ars deinde*).

The second evolutionary paradigm for the development of Greek art is later than that of Xenocrates/Pliny and probably reflects Roman, rather than Greek, views. It was preserved by Cicero (106–49 B.C.) and Quintilian (A.D. 39–95), who may have shared a common source. Majesty and beauty rather than naturalism are the ideal goals for these Roman critics.

1. On the two ancient schemes: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, intro.

According to Cicero (*Orator* 8–9), these desired qualities are reached during the fifth century in the great cult images of Zeus at Olympia and Athena in the Parthenon; in these works by Pheidias, the artist “was not contemplating any human model from whom he took a likeness, but rather some extraordinary vision of beauty resided in his own mind.” The highest award should also be bestowed on Polykleitos, whose concern for proportions and beauty resulted in an ideal conception of the human figure.²

But as the evolution continued into the fourth century, a decline set in. This occurred when realism came to represent a more sought-after goal than majesty. Quintilian recognized that Lysippos, Praxiteles, and Apelles were masters of naturalism; but Demetrios of Alopeke, a sculptor of the late fourth century, is criticized for going too far in seeking verisimilitude rather than beauty.

In both these evolutionary schemes, Praxiteles is assumed to be one of a canon of supreme Greek artists. In the Quintilian scheme he ranks below Pheidias, who relied on the gods for inspiration, and below Polykleitos, who was caught up in medical treatises and precise mathematical calculations. However in the Xenocrates/Pliny evolution he is superior to both Pheidias and Polykleitos because he propels art further than they did toward its ultimate objective of naturalism. In both developmental schemes his great contribution as an artist is his involvement with visual reality and with the external world. According to yet another writer, Lucian, he can be construed as a sculptor concerned with matter and with the world of feeling. Antiquity never regarded the work of Praxiteles as degenerate or inferior.³

Art historians today usually present Greek art in terms of a gradual formal development consisting of four major periods: an archaic phase (roughly from the later seventh century through the sixth B.C.), a classic period (covering most of the fifth century), a late classic phase (fourth century), and a final Hellenistic period extending from about 300 to 31 B.C. These four stages were derived from Winckelmann, who is rightly regarded as the father of modern art history. His *History of Ancient Art* (1764) was written while he lived and studied in Rome. This work and his other writings have determined in large measure the way we think

2. Cicero quotation: Pollitt, *ibid.*, 223–24.

3. Polykleitos' apparent bookish nature is argued by G. Leftwich, *Ancient Conceptions of the Body and the Canon of Polykleitos* (Diss. Princeton University 1987). For the “new subjectivism” shown by artists of the fourth century, as opposed to the formal theory pursued by Polykleitos: J.J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven 1974) 27–31.

about Greek art, how we conceive its evolution, and even the terminology we employ.

In his preface to the first edition of his *History*, Winckelmann stated that his intention was to “show the origin, progress, change, and downfall of art.” He fulfilled this particular aim in a chapter he entitled “The Rise and Fall of Greek Art, in which Four Periods and Four Styles can be Determined,” and it is clear that he depended heavily on the two ancient evolutionary schemes already surveyed. Accordingly he set forth the periodization around which his history—primarily the history of sculpture—would be built. The first, or ancient, style lasted until Pheidias; the second style achieved true greatness because of Pheidias and should be called Grand and Lofty. This style, which Winckelmann based on Platonic theory, incorporates a beauty reached without the aid of the senses; it is free from emotion and is like an idea generated in a lofty understanding and in a happy imagination. The third style, which flourished from the time of Praxiteles to that of Lysippos and Apelles, was still ideal but acquired new qualities of charm, grace, and pleasingness. It can be named Beautiful. Subsequent to these artists and their school, art inevitably began to decline into a fourth style, that of the imitators, “until art bowed itself to its fall.” At the outset, then, Winckelmann reveals his conviction that the last period of Greek art, which we term Hellenistic, was cast under a foreordained shadow. Before the fall, however, Praxiteles escapes. To Winckelmann the sculptor was a supreme master who made a great contribution to the evolution of Greek art by adding a discrete amount of sentiment and sensuousness—which the erudite German never condemned.⁴

The subject matter Praxiteles preferred—or was commissioned to portray—also contrasts with that of the major fifth-century Greek sculptors. Statues of gods comprise by far the largest proportion of the work of Pheidias. Polykleitos favors the male figure; he designed gods, heroes, and athletes almost exclusively. Lysippos, alleged to be extremely prolific, created divinities, heroes, male portraits (particularly of Alexander the Great), male athletes, and animals.

Praxiteles depicted statues of divinities, but they are overwhelmingly representations of a female goddess, Aphrodite. The subjects of most of his other works are women, either goddesses, such as Demeter, Artemis, or Hera, or portraits, including those of Phryne. Dionysos, the god of wine, and his followers—dancing satyrs and maenads—figure promi-

4. J.J. Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, trans. G.H. Lodge, 4 vols. (Boston 1872) vol. 1, 150, vol. 3, 177–78, 201–2.

nently. So does Aphrodite's assistant, Eros. One of these, located at Parion, was the object of passion almost equal to that instigated by the Knidia (Pliny *NH* 36.23).⁵

According to Winckelmann, many of Praxiteles' subjects would be considered part of a less than elevated cast of characters. Besides periodization, he sought to impose on Greek art another kind of ordering framework by arguing that some subjects are more noble and more likely to produce beauty than others. He suggested a hierarchy that involved a gradual descent from mind to matter, from the divine to merely human, and from the stylized to the naturalistic. He placed Olympic divinities in the first rank, with Apollo, youthful, beautiful, and male, at the apex, followed close behind by Zeus and Poseidon, mature, bearded, and also male. The virgin goddesses Athena and Artemis seem to have a slight edge over Hera, whose virginity had to be perpetually renewed by ritual baths. They, along with Demeter, are always fully clothed and are therefore beautiful because they do not arouse the lower appetites. Nevertheless, simply because they are female they are lower on his scale. In this Winckelmann drew directly from Plato's dialogues, especially the *Phaedrus*, which stated that only the male had the capacity to attain the highest good. A nude Aphrodite, if depicted as sexually inexperienced—for him the Medici Aphrodite qualified (fig. 19)—is acceptable but still cannot stimulate the imagination and point it toward true beauty. Satyrs, maenads, and portraits of women—that is, Praxitelean subjects—rank well below the Olympians. Winckelmann did not directly attack either the female nude or the art of Praxiteles. But his reverence for male subjects, and especially the male nude, as alone aspirational had the effect of downgrading both the Knidia and Praxiteles. This bias has been maintained more forcefully by later historians of Greek sculpture.⁶

The Romantic Pairing of Praxiteles and Phryne: Artist and Model

The woman in Praxiteles' statue is, or should be, the divine Aphrodite. Or is it perhaps Phryne, the courtesan who posed for the artist? Or is it both? Bernoulli's interpretation of the Knidia's gestures took for granted that the statue as object was, so to speak, physically occupied by or identical with a living woman. What guided him presumably was not only

5. For a list of works that may be attributed to Praxiteles: Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 277–78.

6. Cf. C.M. Havelock, "Plato and Winckelmann: Ideological Bias in the History of Greek Art," *Source* 5 (1986) 1–5.

the kind of epigram where Aphrodite views her own statue and relishes the experience but also Athenaeus' statement that the model was Phryne. So in a sense Aphrodite was looking at Phryne too. Thus it is possible to see how in one single image, a Greek divinity and a high-class prostitute were fused and confused. One was sacred, the other profane; and the tension between them was problematic. The scales could be tipped very easily toward the profane if, in addition to reading Winckelmann, one examined the life story of Phryne.

Throughout classical antiquity the name "Phryne" was encrusted with lascivious connotations. By the time of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* it was already a commonly known label for any Athenian whore. The name can be translated as "toad," and in the comedy it perhaps refers to her wrinkled and maybe even diseased complexion. "Phryne" continued to be used into the Roman period to denote a colorful and willful mistress. After the early imperial period, the name seems to have lost its potency until the Renaissance.⁷

In the fourth century B.C. there were at least two Greek women named Phryne. It is difficult to distinguish between them because they were both hetairai, or courtesans. One was undoubtedly a historical person, but her exact identity is unknown. However enough biographical anecdotes have been collected around the name Phryne to furnish a distinct impression of a very lively, but probably fictitious, personality.

Phryne, the daughter of Epikles, was born in Thespieae about 371 B.C. She came to Athens as a child, where she lived for awhile in poverty. But she was extremely beautiful and began to make her living by taking lovers; soon she became a hetaira. She was jealous of her main rival, the Corinthian courtesan Lais, and did not altogether escape the disease of her profession.

It is possible that Phryne met Praxiteles at Eleusis when, according to the anecdote of Athenaeus, she walked naked into the sea, thus inspiring both Praxiteles and Apelles to use her as a model. The anecdote does not stress the probably valid religious purpose of her dip in the ocean, but rather emphasizes her brazen disrobing in view of all the Greeks and the taking down of her hair, a further shedding of decorum. The whole account has in fact a sensationalist flavor and was surely fabricated, but it need not be entirely ahistorical. The Great Mysteries at Eleusis were open

7. RE 20 (1941) 893–907 (A. Raubitschek). The name Phryne is not used exclusively for a whore or courtesan. A slave answers to the name in a poem by Asclepiades (25.181) in the early third century.

to men, so Athenaeus' account has that degree of authenticity. In the fourth century B.C., one festival at Eleusis, the Haloa, urged its female participants to adultery. The festival was mainly for hetairai, but before the ceremonies were over, men were admitted. Where exactly Phryne might have attended the festival of Poseidon is a moot question, but it could have been at Eleusis, where the god was also honored. Yet the Eleusis episode is memorable simply because it underlines Phryne's exhibitionism.⁸

Another famous story concerning a courtesan named Phryne does have historical authenticity. It recounts her appearance in court. She was brought to trial on a capital charge, and because the event was recorded in more than one ancient literary source, we can analyze the difference between an early Hellenistic version and early imperial Roman accounts. In the latter, the heat is turned up, so to speak.

The trial is first mentioned in the early third century B.C. by the comic poet Poseidippos. Another courtesan is speaking:

Phryne was once the most illustrious of us courtesans by far. And even though you are too young to remember that time, you must at least have heard of her trial. Although she was thought to have wrought too great injury to men's lives, she nevertheless captured the court when tried for life, and, clasping the hands of the judges, one by one, she with the help of her tears saved her life at last.⁹

Later sources amplify the story, and we learn that Hypereides, one of the most renowned orators of the fourth century and a contemporary of Demosthenes, defended Phryne at the trial. According to Plutarch (*Moralia* 859e), Hypereides was prone to sexual indulgence and was one of Phryne's lovers. But Athenaeus (13.590) is the main source for the events at the trial:

As Hypereides, while defending Phryne, was making no progress in his plea, and it became apparent that the judges meant to condemn her, he caused her to be brought where all could see her; tearing off

8. For the relevant festivals: E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison 1983) 24–37; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca 1977) 98–103; R. Parker, *Miasma*, 83.

9. Preserved in Athenaeus 13.591 (Loeb Classical Library 1937); compare the version of J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 3A (Leiden 1959) 233–35; probably borrowing from Quintilian, he inserts into Poseidippos' poem a phrase stating Phryne herself bared her breast before the judges.

her undergarment he laid bare her bosom and broke into such pious lamentations in his peroration at the sight of her, that he caused the judges to feel superstitious fear of this handmaid and ministrant of Aphrodite. The judges, indulging their feeling of compassion, refrained from putting her to death. And after she had been acquitted a decree was passed that no person speaking in a defendant's behalf should indulge in lamentation, nor should the accused man or woman on trial be bared for all to see.¹⁰

We should observe that Poseidippos had omitted the episode of breast-baring. Perhaps it did not even happen. Athenaeus' account includes it and suggests that such behavior on behalf of either men or women was unusual in a law court.

Quintilian (*Instituto Oratoria* 2.15.9) puts quite a different slant on Phryne's behavior. He writes that "according to general opinion Phryne was saved not by the eloquence of Hypereides, admirable though it was, but by the sight of her exquisite body, which she further revealed by drawing aside her tunic."¹¹ In Quintilian's version Phryne goes one step further than her lawyer. She herself exposes her whole body, fully intending to exploit the sexual sensitivities of the judges and thus win her acquittal. In this version she is not so much a defenseless victim as a manipulative whore.

It is probably impossible to unravel the true story of Phryne's behavior at her trial, but if Hypereides did bare her breasts, it would not be completely out of keeping with contemporary customs. In fourth-century Athenian courts, it was accepted that women were especially capable of arousing the sympathy of judges. Vulnerable members of a household, such as mothers and children, were brought in by fathers or husbands for just such purposes. If the family could look anxious and afraid it was all the better, and the advocate would wring all he could from their presence.¹²

The baring of breasts is neither typical of nor confined to courtesans or prostitutes. It was always meant to arouse a compassionate response. There are several instances in Greek poetry, beginning with Homer, where women open their clothing to appeal for pity and compassion. In the *Iliad* (22.79–81) Hecuba pleads her young son Hector not to seek out Achilles in combat. Loosening her clothing, she exposes her breast and compels him to remember her nurturing capacity—now pathetically gone. Tearing

10. Athenaeus, 13–590 (Loeb Classical Library 1937).

11. *The Instituto Oratoria of Quintilian* (Loeb Classical Library 1980).

12. For example, Aeschines *On the Embassy* 152; Plato *Apology* 34c–35b.

one's hair and shredding one's garments in mourning, a ritual performed by women at funerals, are comparable expressions of intense emotions. Even today women's terror can be expressed the same way: as the Hong Kong police attempted to forcibly return the Vietnamese boat people and "began a hut-to-hut search for weapons, they encountered a large group of hysterical females who were so upset by the idea the police were coming to send them home, they ripped off all their clothes. The wailing and mass hysteria proved so bad, [the police] had to leave."¹³

The episode of Phryne's exposure at court—whether or not self-imposed—is inevitably remembered in conjunction with her exhibitionism at the festival at Eleusis. Together they can create the impression that Phryne was the kind of woman who was especially fond of undressing in public. Yet it is clear that these stories were circulating, and were probably created, in a period long after the actual trial. There is no mention of Phryne's bared breasts by comic poets in the fourth century, even though her defense was one of the most famous cases in the life of Hypereides¹⁴ and the subject would seem to be a natural one for satire. In his epigram, the Greek Poseidippos describes a trial that appears to be genuinely historical and that would not be extraordinary in fourth-century Athens. It is Quintilian, a Roman writer, who puts the twist on it and encourages us to link the disrobing with the profession and character of the courtesan Phryne. And ever since then these later accounts seem to have darkened her reputation and to have clouded our understanding of the Aphrodite of Knidos, for which she allegedly posed.

Other anecdotes add still more color to Phryne's personality. She posed not only for the Knidia but also, according to Pliny (*NH* 34.70), for a statue of a Smiling Courtesan by Praxiteles: "they detect in it the love of the artist and the reward revealed in the face of the courtesan." This was in effect a portrait of Phryne, and Pliny leads us to understand that the erotic qualities of the work of art are automatically present because the sculptor was in love with his model/mistress—knew her intimately—and that she herself profited from the liaison. Phryne's extravagance and even vanity are implied by another portrait of her by Praxiteles. It was gilded and set up at Delphi on a pillar of pentelic marble. Crates, the Cynic

13. On ritual mourning: Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 281–85; New York Times, Sunday, 31 December 1989, sec. 1.16.

14. For Hypereides: J. Engels, *Studien zur politischen Biographie des Hypereides* (Munich 1989) 67, n. 110.

philosopher, scoffed at it and said it was typical of Greek incontinence (Athenaeus 13.591).¹⁵

Phryne was also mischievous. Pausanias (1.20.1–2) relates how she played a trick on Praxiteles to compel him to state which was his favorite among his own masterpieces. He would not commit himself, so she sent him a message that his studio was on fire. Rushing over, Praxiteles hoped that at the very least his statues of Eros and a Satyr were saved. Phryne confessed it was all a ruse and asked for the figure of Eros, which he presented to her and she greedily accepted. Pausanias (9.27.3) also states that she dedicated a lovely figure of Eros to her hometown Thespiai. Erotes figures seem ubiquitous in the biographies of the artist and his model—as if for them the subject of love were an obsession. Phryne's profession apparently made her rich enough to be able to offer to rebuild the walls of Thebes, which had been destroyed in 335 B.C. by Alexander the Great. This offer furnishes the evidence that she was still alive at that time, but approaching, it has been said, an age unsuitable for serving as a model.¹⁶

As described in these and other ancient sources, Phryne was sometimes vulgar and vain, beautiful and sensual, uninhibited, interested in art, teasing, generous, and proud. She posed not only for Praxiteles but also for Apelles. She had several, probably many, lovers beside Praxiteles, and she was wealthy. She may have been dangerously alluring, but antiquity never regarded her as immoral. In actuality, her lifestyle may have been similar to that of the women portrayed in the New Comedy of the third century B.C. E. Fantham has stated that “in one sense the hetaira was the only woman in Greek society who enjoyed a freedom comparable to men, running her own household and finances, with the right to choose the company she admitted to her home, and to attend the symposia and dinner-parties of the men-folk.” However, what makes Phryne stand apart in an unusually dramatic light is her link with one of the most renowned sculptors and works of art of all time. But the linkage was made long after the lovers were dead.¹⁷

Because biography as a literary genre had not developed by the fourth century, very little is known about the life of Praxiteles. Pliny (*NH* 34.50) supplies the dates only for the high point of his career, 364–361 B.C. He may have been born about 400 B.C. and died around 340 B.C. His father

15. Pliny: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 85.

16. Friedrich sees Phryne's rebuilding of the walls as symbolizing the restoration of her virginity: *Meaning of Aphrodite*, 208.

17. E. Fantham, “Sex, Status, and Survival in Hellenistic Athens: A Study of Women in New Comedy,” *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 51.

may have been Kephisodotos, a sculptor. He spent most of his life in Athens. He was married and had at least two sons, both of whom were artists, as were later descendants named Praxiteles. Because he could, presumably, afford a large studio, give away works of art, and subsidize Phryne, Praxiteles must have been a very successful capitalist. Apparently the family clan, which can be followed down until at least the first century B.C. was always prosperous. It is often overlooked that Praxiteles made portraits and not just attractive nudes. His signature survives on three bases, two from Athens, and a third from Leuktra in Boeotia, which identifies him as an Athenian. His name may appear again on a fourth, fragmentary, rectangular base of white marble found in the House of Hermes on Delos. J. Marcadé surmises that Praxiteles could have stopped over on the island on his return from professional commissions in Asia Minor. Vitruvius (7.praef.13) states that Praxiteles was employed on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Strabo (14.641) says that he made an altar for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos.¹⁸

But Praxiteles' reputation, not only in antiquity but even today, depends primarily on his statue of the Aphrodite of Knidos. The descriptions of her appearance supplied by Pliny and Lucian are among the longest and most complete descriptions of a single statue in ancient literature. The setting of the figure, her pose, the expression on her face, her soft flesh, her capacity to arouse male lust, how a visitor may contrive to see her from behind, her fame—all these details are mentioned and are unsurpassed in classical writing for their evocative implications. If we then bear in mind ancient anecdotes referring to his love affair with Phryne, we can see how it could be inferred that one of the main inspirations for Praxiteles' genius—as well as for his style—was his model and mistress.

Not only do ancient writings speak of the quality and fame of the Knidia; they also suggest that Praxiteles was a great lover. "Who gave soul to marble? Who saw Cypris on earth? Who wrought such love-longing in stone?" (Anonymous epigram). Praxiteles was duped by Phryne into thinking his studio was on fire, and she wheedled out of him the statue of Eros. He identifies with her so much that he instills his emotions into his statues. Athenaeus (13.591) states that Praxiteles inscribed the following lines on the base of a statue of Eros:

18. On Praxiteles' lifespan, position, and family: J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 286–88; H. Lauter, "Zur wirtschaftlichen Position der Praxiteles-Familie im spätklassischen Athen," *AA* 1980, 525–31. For signatures: J. Marcadé, *Recueil de signatures de sculpteur grecs*, vol. 2 (Paris 1957) 114–16.

Praxiteles rendered precisely the love he suffered
 Drawing the archetype from his own heart
 Phryne received me as a gift; love philtres no longer
 Do I shoot with any bow, but love is stirred by looking at me.¹⁹

The cumulative impression given by these various writings is one of a great artist, technically skillful, deeply in love, yet not quite in control. He is passionate and suffers with longing for his mistress, and he is preoccupied with sensuality and sex. One might even detect a certain weakness of character, especially when he is compared with the intellectual Polykleitos or the heaven-gazing Pheidias.

After Winckelmann: Praxiteles' Reputation

Because Winckelmann revered Praxiteles as an artist of the Beautiful period and did not associate him with the sad decline of Greek art that was yet to come, Bernoulli too was naturally inclined to classify the Knidia as an ideal work of art. But as we shall see in chapter 4, Bernoulli was less sanguine about the nude female figures that were to come after the Knidia. This, I suspect, was because the memory of Phryne, the courtesan, lingered on.

In 1835 K.O. Müller adopted Winckelmann's idea that the Hellenistic period was one of decline. He held Praxiteles primarily responsible, arguing that the sculptor pointed Greek artists in the wrong direction by introducing new effects of sensuality. Moreover, Praxiteles' departure from an austere idealism was blamed on his passion for Phryne. The Aphrodite of Knidos was a prime target, and Müller took it for granted that the occupation of the model, a courtesan, accounted for the sensuality of the statue. Praxiteles is virtually accused of dallying too often with notorious hetairai; as a consequence he was unable to avoid provocative effects in the Knidia. Müller wrote: "In the unrobed Aphrodite Praxiteles combined the utmost luxuriance of personal charms with a spiritual expression in which the queen of love herself appeared as a woman needful of love and filled with inward longing."²⁰ According to Müller, fifth-century statues of a draped Aphrodite are rendered with sacredness and dignity, whereas in the fourth century, when she is undressed, she is only a charming woman, amoral, indeed decidedly immoral.

19. The anonymous epigram is from *Greek Anthology* vol. 5, 253, no. 159; Athenaeus trans.: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 88.

20. K.O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst* (Breslau 1835) 99.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Heinrich Brunn again took up the issue of artist and model. He accepts Winckelmann's high periods of the fifth and fourth centuries, and he quotes Cicero on the divine inspiration by which Pheidias conceived his statue of Zeus. This work was a Platonic form, he claims. A reading of Lucian's description of the Knidia, he wrote, prevented us from praising Praxiteles in the same way we would extol Pheidias, Polykleitos, or even Skopas. They were all concerned with the "authority of an Idea, with the most living natural truth, the most beautiful proportions and on the highest, most admirable plane." Praxiteles' aims are different; he wants to give pleasure, to stir up feelings through physical appearances. In the statue of Aphrodite made for the Knidians, the goddess has become debased and degraded because a hetaira served as the model. Since it is only natural, he argues, for a woman to feel shame when so exposed, the goddess here must believe she is not observed.²¹

In 1893, adopting the views of Bernoulli, Adolph Furtwängler thought he could see Phryne portrayed not in the Aphrodite of Knidos, who was too pure and innocent, but in a semidraped Aphrodite supposedly by Praxiteles. He commented that "the whole conception lacks the dignity of the Knidia. . . . this maiden has a questioning look; rejoicing in her beauty she raises her mirror—and cares not if her mantle slips down a little lower"—just like Phryne, he concludes.²²

Wilhelm Klein, who wrote the first monograph on Praxiteles in 1898, had this to say: "One receives the impression that Praxiteles did not invent this characteristic (the right hand covering the genitalia) but that he had the form of an undressed model in his mind." We all know the problem, he wrote, because of the embarrassment our own models feel when posing today.²³

Squeamish reactions to the art of Praxiteles became intense in England in the later nineteenth century. The response of Richard Westmacott Jr., who taught sculpture at the Royal Academy, was typical of Victorian prudery. In 1864 he wrote one of the first handbooks in English on the history of sculpture, and it exerted a strong influence for the rest of the century. Praxiteles, if possible, tumbles still further, and the fate of Hellenistic art was sealed for decades in England. Nude female statues by Praxiteles appeal to "less refined sympathies . . . undecorous fancy and

21. H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*² (London 1889) 243–44.

22. A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, ed. A.N. Oikonomides (Chicago 1964) 320.

23. W. Klein, *Praxiteles* (Leipzig 1898) 257.

prurient tastes." They fail to show feelings of "propriety" or the "nobler sentiments" of Pheidias. W.C. Perry does not believe the Knidian Aphrodite has any brains at all.²⁴

In chapter 4 I will cite further examples of the denigration Praxiteles suffered because of his relationship to Phryne. I will show how this led to a distorted interpretation of other statues of Aphrodite. But also significant for the present discussion is the way in which the subject—the female nude—seems to condition how ancient sources are interpreted when seeking to understand Praxiteles' formal style.

As I argued in chapter 1, it is likely that the Knidia was polychromed in conformity with fourth-century practice. Yet the coloring of this particular statue has taken on an unusually important role. The reason, once again, could be said to originate with Plato. He was against the illusionistic style of painting developing in his own day, because of its sensory appeal and because it clouded the spectator's purely aesthetic pleasure. Painters committed to appearance rather than truth should be condemned, he argued, because they promoted immoral thoughts. What Plato specifically had in mind was *skiagraphia*, or the manipulation of light and shade characteristic of the painting of Apollodoros and Pausias. Apparently it was also characteristic of Nikias, Praxiteles' favorite painter. According to Pliny (*NH* 35.130–31), not only did Nikias paint women in a detailed manner, but he also "kept a careful watch on light and shade and took great care so that the painted figures should stand out from the panel." It is quite easy to see then how one could surmise that Praxiteles preferred Nikias to paint his marble statues, including the Knidia, because he would enhance, through *chiaroscuro*, the smooth and seductive qualities of Praxiteles' modeling technique. That the two are the only sculptor and painter who are named and directly linked in literary sources naturally tempts one to see the relationship as unusually significant and their mutual styles as extraordinarily harmonious and capable of producing visual effects of a gratifying kind. Yet are we on firm ground when we make these deductions? The ancient writings never state that Nikias took special delight in painting female subjects, that he painted female statues, or that he painted the Knidia in particular. Moreover it is not unequivocally clear that Praxiteles attached unusual importance to the coloring of his statues, or that Nikias, when he painted them, applied to the flesh of

24. Some of these attacks on Praxiteles are outlined by F.M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven 1981) 45–52, 60; R. Westmacott, *Handbook of Sculpture, Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh 1864) 181–82; W.C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture: A Popular Introduction to the History of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (London 1882) 446.

nude female statues the light and shade effects that were characteristic of his paintings. During much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, academic theory forbade the coloring of naked women in sculpture. Joshua Reynolds, an avowed Platonist, admonished his students to avoid deception and illusion by omitting entirely the addition of color to statuary. The example he chose to drive home his point comes as no surprise. It is not a male but a female figure: "If the business of sculpture were to administer pleasure to ignorance, or a mere entertainment to the senses, the Venus of Medicis might certainly receive much improvement by colour." We must be wary of perpetuating this antiquated neoclassical view and of allowing it to influence our reception of the Knidian Aphrodite.²⁵

Doubts about the contribution of the painter to the impact of Praxiteles' statuary are augmented by a consideration of Nikias' choice of themes. According to various ancient documents, he painted a wide variety of subjects, including Nemea, Dionysos, Hyacinthus, Danae, Homeric themes, Andromeda, and a portrait of Alexander the Great. Pausanias (1.29.15) calls Nikias the "greatest painter of animals of his time." Pliny, who saw some of his paintings that had been brought to Rome, said he was especially good at depicting dogs. Demetrios, who may have written earlier than Pliny, records that Nikias thought it was important for painters to avoid little subjects like birds and flowers and instead to depict heroic themes on a large scale, like naval battles and cavalry scenes with lots of horses and falling warriors. Nothing is said about women.²⁶

We also saw in chapter 1 that there is no evidence that Praxiteles departed from contemporary practice in applying only a light polish to the nude flesh of the Knidia. Even so, Lucian's words in *Imagines* 6 that a dewy quality in the eyes could be seen in heads by Praxiteles have been taken literally and have prompted several attributions that are far from certain. In photographing a sculpture allegedly by Praxiteles, the same words encouraged Edward J. Moore to exaggerate pictorial effects by softening and distorting the focus.²⁷

25. On Plato's views respecting skiagraphia: Pollitt, *Ancient View*, 41–49, 247–55; V.J. Bruno, *Form and Colour in Greek Painting* (London 1977) 32–35. Pliny: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 169. Nikias' cooperation with Praxiteles: M. Robertson, *History*, 393, 436. J. Reynolds, *Discourses on Art* 1757, ed. R.R. Wark (New Haven 1975) 176.

26. For writings on Nikias: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 169–71.

27. Questionable attributions include Leconfield head, Bartlett head, Chios girl. Cf. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 90–91; Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 198, 278. See M. Bergstein, "Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture," *ArtB* 74 (1992) 484–87.

The female nude as subject and the salacious connotations that inevitably seem to surround it have affected not only the understanding of Praxiteles' use of polychromy but also the evaluation of his sculptural style. This is particularly well demonstrated in the writing of Rhys Carpenter, one of the twentieth century's most discriminating critics of Greek art. His notion of the development of Greek sculpture is considered overly deterministic today, but he had a marvelous eye and a forceful literary style for setting forth the formal changes in Greek art. His objections to Praxiteles are not moral but stylistic.

A classicist and archaeologist, Carpenter based his conception of the development of Greek art primarily on ancient literary sources. He therefore combined the two paradigms discussed above for the rise and flowering of Greek sculpture. Following Pliny, he thought that from the sixth through the third centuries, Greek sculptors—always compulsively in search of “mimetic fidelity”—gradually carved their way toward visual reality. In the second century they had no choice but to turn back to a reemployment of the old-fashioned repertory of the classic style. Yet he objects to this classical revival because it obscured what he felt was “the innate Greek sense of sculpture” realized only in the late fifth century.²⁸

In the long run the star performer for Carpenter is Polykleitos, and the work of art that most completely incorporated his ideal is the Doryphoros: “And here [in the Doryphoros], perhaps more starkly than in any other work, may be detected the essential qualities of Greek sculpture, uncontaminated by any un-Hellenic trait.” Carpenter thought it impossible for Praxiteles or the Knidia to pass this supreme test.²⁹

Carpenter claims he will not accept the “extreme view that Praxiteles reduced the art of sculpture to sensuous illusionism and exquisite softness.” But when he actually compares the composition, stance, and anatomical rendering of the Doryphoros with the same features of the Knidia, the latter turns out to be decidedly flawed. Tectonic structure, muscular articulation, and organic unity—a few of his favorite phrases—define the most perfect exemplar, or the canonical “classic nude,” the Doryphoros. He then continues: “It would be entirely proper to claim that the Knidia

28. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 208.

29. Ibid., 108. Carpenter's dislike of “unhellenic” traits echoes a view about the purity of Greek art that can be traced back at least to Winckelmann. J.A. Symonds expressed the same view in *Essays, Speculative and Suggestive* (London 1893) 45: “Powerful as were the sculptors of the school of Pergamon, we recognize that in them the representative Greek art had already abandoned the sphere of representative Greek virtues.” He meant that representative Greek art and virtue are strictly confined to Athens of the fifth century.

occupies for the nude feminine form the canonic rank of exemplary perfection which antiquity accorded the Doryphoros for the male nude.” But “it is, in fact, the veiled tectonic structure beneath the sensuously formless light-mirror of the surface which prevents Praxiteles from converting the properly sculptural into an improperly pictorial appeal.” And because “he threatened to divert Greek sculpture into pictorial byways of sensuous illusion, Praxiteles may be the most individual of all Greek sculptors—without deserving on that account to be the greatest.” A. Stewart prolongs the bias in writing that the nude male body is “instinctively felt to be paradigmatic,” and that because it is “autonomous and robust, [it] is singled out as the prime vehicle to display these [Greek] ideals in art.”³⁰

If only a woman’s body were like a man’s! Carpenter believed that the proper aim of the sculptor’s art was demonstrated in the Greek high classical style and that it could truly exist only in the male nude figure. Since a woman’s body lacked “athletic vigor and hale vitality” and hence obscured muscular clarity, it necessarily followed that the Knidia was subordinate to the Doryphoros and that Praxiteles was second in rank to Polykleitos.

30. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture*, 44–45, 174–75. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 311–12.

Chapter 3

The Late Hellenistic Period: The Rediscovery of the Knidia

The statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles was the subject of innumerable poems and literary descriptions—but only in late Greek antiquity. The figure is not mentioned in any contemporary source that survives. She was ignored or unknown to the philosophers, dramatists, and poets of the fourth century and of the early Hellenistic period. In the early third century B.C., Poseidippos seemed unaware that Phryne, whom he knew had her day in court, had also served as the model. When and why did the statue erected in a shrine at Knidos begin to achieve notoriety in the ancient world?¹

Fortunately, the answer can probably be arrived at because of a discovery made by French archaeologists in 1904 on the nearby island of Delos. A marble group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros (fig. 12) was found then in the ruins of a large Establishment built by the Poseidoniastes of Berytos (modern Beirut) on Delos. Just under life-size, it is now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.²

The expressive content of the group is of utmost importance. It has never elicited praise. “Insensitive in quality and overpoweringly vulgar” is one of the more extreme reactions to it. Nevertheless, it is a very interesting work of art and is by no means mediocre. Moreover it is an

1. Duris of Samos (ca. 340–260 B.C.), who was one of Pliny’s sources, might have initiated some of the stories concerning the Knidia, Praxiteles, and Phryne. Occasionally he commented on artists, such as the famous remark preserved by Pliny that Lysippos imitated nature (*NH* 34.61). Of course whether or not later writers accurately quote their sources is an open question. Duris was still read in the first century B.C., and it is possible that one of his anecdotes was embellished in the late Hellenistic period. On Duris: R.B. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos* (Wiesbaden 1977) 13, 19–35, 40. Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius cite a Poseidippos as having mentioned the Knidia. But that this is the third-century poet not only cannot be ascertained but is unlikely. See Borbein, “Die griechische Statue,” 188, n. 608, who follows A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology; Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, Eng. 1965) vol. 2, 485.

2. Athens, Archaeological Museum 3335; *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 514.

original Greek creation and, as a group, has no replicas. Because it combines three well-preserved interacting figures in one composition, we can interpret the meaning and mood with unusual completeness.³

Pan is a grinning beast and the picture of lust. Hirsute and ugly, he is attempting to seduce the goddess. He clasps one hand around her arm, the other embraces her back, and his right leg advances to brush her ankle. The stump that projects between the two figures functions as a stabilizer, yet from the front view it can be read as Pan's thrusting thigh. Nevertheless he is good-humored and nonviolent.

Aphrodite is plump and her breasts are full and round; the nipples are incised and remarkably prominent. Her body and face were highly polished so that the whole figure seems soft, warm, and fleshy. Her hair is caught up in a knotted scarf. Painted additions—traces of red paint remain in her hair—no doubt contributed to the illusion of reality. With her right hand raised she appears to be about to slap Pan with her sandal. Yet she tilts her head toward him and smiles. In short, she is friendly rather than outraged, and teasing rather than serious. She would make a delightful mistress—or courtesan. A laughing Eros hovers between them like a bridge, partly drawing them together, partly separating them, yet allied with neither.

Much more significant is the position of Aphrodite's left hand, which covers her pubic area. It is the earliest securely dated and original example of the gesture invented by Praxiteles. Surely the sculptor must have either seen or known of the Knidia. Copies of the Knidia have been found in many Delian houses, and in one even the signature of Praxiteles was recovered. So the name of the sculptor and his statue at Knidos were well known on the island in the late Hellenistic period. In the Delian group, Pan playfully attempts to draw Aphrodite's dimpled hand away. The purely religious gesture of the Knidia is here deliberately satirized and, as a result, takes on a more physical and secular meaning.

The Delian group tells a story. It is nuanced and psychological and reveals the dynamics of seduction. Although a raised sandal appeared in earlier Greek art in an even more erotic context, the scene as a whole has no known mythological source or precedent. It was surely a new composi-

3. The quotation is from Robertson, *History*, 556. W.-R. Megow publishes a fragment of a right hand holding a sandal in reduced scale found in Samos, probably of the second century A.C., which is similar to that held by the Delian Aphrodite: "Eine Zisterne im Stadtgebiet von Samos," *AM* 92 (1977) 189–90, pl. 89. Small bronzes of the first century A.C. or later of Aphrodite holding a sandal in one hand are comparable but not copies. For example: *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," pl. 50, no. 516.

tion intended to please a particular patron—one with leisure, time, and money. Had he also perhaps seen the Knidia on one of his travels?⁴

The Establishment where the group was found is considerable in size and architectural distinction. It was built as a kind of inn for travelers in 153/2 B.C. by the shipowners and merchants from Berytos who worshiped the god Poseidon in Eastern form. The building remained in use until 69 B.C., when Delos was captured by pirates and the house was destroyed.

The building consisted of two major parts (fig. 13). A public area included a courtyard that led on one side to a large open peristyle court and on the other to a pronaos. The pronaos in turn fronted a sanctuary containing four chapels. Cult statues representing the home gods of the inhabitants were situated in the chapels. Three can be identified: Roma, Aphrodite-Astarte, and Poseidon. Portrait sculptures were also set up in this first part of the house. A large dining hall was located off the court. In these public areas, social, commercial, and religious interests could commingle.

The second part of the house consisted of living quarters or guest rooms that were added on the southeast corner of the house in about 110 B.C. These were private and enclosed, and the group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros was apparently located in one of them. In the same, nonpublic section of the building, two fragmentary seminude female statuettes were discovered. One represents a nymph turned with her bare back toward us (fig. 14) and reveals a fascination with the naked female body analogous to that apparent in the group of Pan and Aphrodite.⁵

The inscription on the base that supported the Aphrodite and Pan group states that a certain “Dionysios, son of Zeno, son of Theodoros of Berytos, benefactor, [dedicated this group] in behalf of himself and of his children to the ancestral gods.” Dionysios resided with the Poseidoniastes in about 110–100 B.C. His votive was paternal and pious yet not incompatible with the sculpture’s erotic character or with its function in the decor of a private apartment. When the group was first found, Bulard, citing its uniqueness, considered it simply a decorative piece of genre.

4. Erotic sandal: J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (New York 1978) 91.

5. On the different building periods of the house: H. Meyer, “Zur chronologie des Poseidoniastenhauses in Delos,” *AM* 103 (1988) 203–20. The group was found together with its base in a small room of the basement, probably having fallen from a larger guest room; cf. P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*³ (Paris 1983) 174–78. Nymph: Delos Museum A 4156.

Since then, Picard and others have deepened the meaning by attempting to connect it with oriental and Berytian cults.⁶

In 166 B.C. the Roman senate had made Delos a free port. It soon became very prosperous and a melting pot for commercial interests. There were Greeks, South Italians, Romans, and Syrians sojourning or passing through, trading, and socializing. Religious worship was also an aspect of their activities on the island, and sanctuaries and buildings for Egyptian, Syrian, and Jewish faiths were provided. By the later second century, the island, along with the whole eastern Mediterranean, was very strongly influenced by Rome, and in Delos itself Roman merchants may have comprised the majority.⁷ From the beginning the clientele of the Establishment seems to have been pro-Roman. These businessmen were cosmopolitan and syncretic in their religious affiliations. They honored Roma, Apollo, Herakles, Poseidon, and maybe Demeter. They also honored Aphrodite, and their clubhouse provides a context for demonstrating a special appreciation for Praxiteles' statue in the late Hellenistic period. Since this is the first time the distinctive gesture of the Knidia appears to have been recognized and imitated, does it not suggest that the statue had only recently been rediscovered?

The Setting of the Aphrodite of Knidos

The ancient city of Knidos, the modern Tekir, is situated at the end of a very narrow peninsula in southwest Turkey. The sanctuary of Aphrodite stood on high ground overlooking the city below. It also occupied a commanding position of the sea and the particularly hazardous shipping lanes as they rounded the end of the peninsula. A more appropriate location for a sanctuary devoted to the "fair voyage" Aphrodite is hard to imagine.

But what did a visitor to the shrine of the Aphrodite of Knidos in the

6. M. Bulard, "Aphrodite, Pan, et Eros," *BCH* 30 (1906) 631; C. Picard, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos* 6, *L'Etablissement des Posedoniastes de Berytos* (Paris 1921) 122. G.W. Elderkin argued that Aphrodite is not threatening Pan with the sandal but displaying it and that the sculptor is thereby alluding to a custom whereby prostitutes had the word "Follow" applied with hobnails to the sole of the sandal. As they walked they left the imprint to attract clients. Elderkin stresses the religious as well as the erotic nature of the group and says Aphrodite here is the prostitute-goddess of Phoenician origin: "The Hero on a Sandal," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 381–87. Also see W. Fauth, "Aphrodites Pantoffel und die Sandale der Hekate," *GrazBeitr* 12/13 (1985/86) 193–211.

7. For the Romans preponderance in Delos: E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols. (Berkeley 1984) vol. 1, 311–12.

classical period actually see? How was the statue displayed? So far, excavations on the site have not yielded any architectural structure of the fourth century B.C. that can be identified with Praxiteles' work. The arch supported on four columns under which the Knidia stands on the Tarsus coin (fig. 4) is clearly of Roman date and hence the die-maker's, probably fanciful, addition. However, some idea of her original location can be gleaned from the statue itself.

That the Knidia's best viewing point would be directly in front is suggested by her pose. The gesture of her right hand, which is extremely important to the statue's meaning, is only entirely visible and legible if seen straight on. Its unfolding and lack of stress would otherwise not be appreciated. The design of the figure provides no strong incentive to pass around to see her in profile, which is not developed in depth and which obscures her right hand; but as in all frontal statues, the spread of the whole body on the back plane would make an approach from the rear complementary and would offer different sensuous effects. This would be as true of the male Doryphoros as it is of the Knidia. The head, turned to her left, would have softened the frontality and continued the rhythm of her torso. Her glance is angled slightly toward our right, that is, off-axis from a central door or opening, and therefore also from the spectator. If we accept the evidence of the coin images, as I am inclined to do, the statue stood on a low base and was effectively human in scale rather than awesomely elevated and enlarged.⁸

While there can be no certainty about the fourth-century enframing of the statue, Borbein has proposed that the Knidia was enclosed in a type of shrine, or naiskos, long known in the eastern Greek region—small, rectangular, and open on the front. Such an enframing, in which the Knidians could view the figure in a traditional and familiar setting, seems very probable. It would also allow the appropriate visibility and vantage point corresponding to her contrapposto stance.

But as yet no such building has been found at Knidos. However our two main accounts about the statue's setting need to be reiterated and

8. The copies of the Knidia in various media run the gamut in height. The larger marble versions seem to be about 2 meters high without a base. This includes the version from the rotunda in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, perhaps a close duplicate of the original. If we were to take literally Pliny's tale about the youth who stained the goddess, then the statue was probably easily embraceable, i.e., more or less level with a spectator. But Borbein contends this is far from conclusive and argues that high elevation appears to be the rule in the fourth century: "Die griechische Statue," 189, n. 613. For a convenient list of many copies with dimensions: L. Closuit, *L'Aphrodite de Knide* (n.p. 1978).

further investigated. In conjunction with modern archaeological findings, they point to the conclusion that in the late Hellenistic period either the Aphrodite of Knidos was removed from her unpretentious fourth-century naiskos and placed in a quite different setting or her original shrine was renovated and updated according to contemporary taste. We must now consider each of these possibilities.

The earlier account concerning the Knidia's setting is by Pliny (*NH* 36.20) and is quoted in full in the opening pages of chapter 1. He states that the shrine was completely open and that the figure was visible from all sides; the goddess, he says, likes it that way. The second description, also quoted earlier, is by Lucian (*Amores* 13–14). He asserts that, just beyond a garden, the statue was in the middle of a temple with a front and back entrance. To see the goddess in all her splendor, one asks the woman to open the back door with her key.

Pliny's description suggests that the Knidia was situated in an open, colonnaded, round building. If every view of her figure was completely satisfying and relished, the rotunda must have been fairly small in diameter and the columns widely spaced, and she must have stood in the center. In support of this hypothesis is the evidence for associating small round temples with cult images of Aphrodite in the Hellenistic period.⁹

In the 1970s Iris Love discovered at Knidos a circular marble podium containing evidence of two or three building periods. A pedestal for a statue was found inside, and an altar can be restored outside on the east. According to the excavator, the podium was the foundation for a second building, a monopteros, which sheltered the famous statue of Aphrodite Euploia by Praxiteles (fig. 15). The terrace behind might have served as the gardens mentioned by Lucian. Love was unable to secure the dating of the monopteros, but a Hellenistic period was suggested because of the Hellenistic-to-Roman statuettes and reliefware found near the podium. In addition, the name of Praxiteles could be reconstructed from a fragmentary inscription also found nearby, the lettering of which has been placed somewhere in the third or second century.¹⁰ The monopteros seems to fit Pliny's description exceedingly well. Furthermore it conforms almost exactly in design and dimensions with a rotunda built by the Roman emperor Hadrian at Tivoli, in the center of which was found a life-size copy of the Knidian Aphrodite.

9. P.W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Painting from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 118–24, 157.

10. I.C. Love, "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos," *AJA* 74 (1970) 149–55; 76 (1972) 61–76, 393–405; 77 (1973) 413–24.

In the 1990s Turkish archaeologists are continuing these archaeological investigations. The round temple first unearthed by Love is now considered a second-century B.C. building, surrounded by columns of the Corinthian order. Rather than being an open colonnade, it contains a walled inner room, or cella. This would be the normal location for the divinity's statue, which would have been visible from all sides only after entry into the cella. Whether this building is indeed the rotunda that housed the Knidia seems as yet not fully certain, and what has so far been found obviously does not square in some particulars with Pliny's account. But Lucian's description diverges much further.¹¹

Indeed, Lucian seems to be describing a totally different building than that sketched so briefly by Pliny. The existence of a front and back entrance would suggest that there were walls joining the openings. If a woman opened the back door on request only occasionally, we can assume that ordinarily the goddess was seen through a single front door. Since she was in the "middle" of the temple, the statue must have been centered, in a reasonably large space, rather than placed against the back wall. We are told the rear view of the goddess was highly satisfactory, which implies that the placing of the back door was calculated to maximum effect.

While Lucian's temple does not match the ruined round building excavated at Knidos, it conforms much more closely to the traditional naiskos-type shrine of pre-Hellenistic Asia Minor. For this reason Borbein prefers Lucian's description. However, a classical naiskos was not likely to have a back door; but a back door could have been added in the late Hellenistic period.¹²

Instead of attempting to reconcile the discrepant accounts of Pliny and Lucian in the light of modern excavations, it might be better to ask where their true interests lay and what they were intent on recording. Instead of emphasizing their differences, we should consider what they have in common.

Their interests surely do not lie in archaeological ruins. Nor are they

11. In a personal letter of 16 June 1992, Professor R. Özgan stated that the tholos was certainly a temple but that there is no evidence to date that it belonged to Aphrodite Euploia. I am grateful for his assistance. See R. Özgan, "1989 Knidos Kazisi," *Kazi Sonuclari toplanti* 12.2 (1990) 57–61; Özgan, "1990 Knidos Kazisi," *Kazi Sonuclari Toplantasi* 13.2 (1991) 171–77; M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Anatolia," *AJA* 96 (1992) 139 (Knidos); 97 (1993) 122 (Knidos).

12. Cf. Borbein, "Die griechische Statue," 188–94; B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München: Katalog der Skulpturen 2. Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 236 and n. 14.

concerned with describing buildings or architecture as such. Above all, they are not primarily interested in the statue of Aphrodite as a cult image or as a work of art by a great artist. Rather they are praising it, advertising it, almost selling it, as a tourist attraction and as something titillating and sexy to see.

Pliny claims not only that the Knidia is the best work by Praxiteles but that it tops any in the whole world. It is so wonderful that people from all over sail to Knidos to see it. Because the goddess is nude, it is far more interesting as a statue than the sober, draped Aphrodite purchased by neighboring Kos. If you journey to see it, you will not waste your money, because you are guaranteed an optimum all-around look at the nude goddess, who is very cooperative and appreciates your admiration.

Lucian himself was on a sight-seeing trip with two handsome young men, one of whom was inclined to prefer the company of boys. All three were in an amorous mood when they decided to anchor at Knidos and visit the temple of Aphrodite. As they passed into her precinct, the breezes of love rustled through the luxuriant trees and the myrtle bushes sacred to the goddess; the place was laden with vines and fruits, and it was also crowded with lovers. At last they reached the goddess herself, and they were filled with wonder; her beauty is that of an ideal, but fully mortal, woman, and it is described in conventional detail ("how perfect the proportions!" "how delicately molded the flesh on the buttocks!"), as they look at her from the front and then, having secured the keys, as they gaze on her for quite a long time from the back. In the end, Lucian says that, regardless of one's sexual orientation, there is no way one can be disappointed by a visit to the statue of the goddess of love at Knidos.

The accounts of the Aphrodite of Knidos by both Pliny and Lucian occurred at roughly the same time and are, moreover, in the same vein as the epigram by Plato Junior noted in chapter 1. That epigram is worth repeating in this context because like Pliny and Lucian, Aphrodite is in this case the tourist:

Paphian Cythera came through the sea to Knidos
 Wishing to see her own image.
 Having gazed from every angle in that conspicuous space
 She cried: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"

Whether the statue was in a round or rectangular shrine, whether the shrine was open or closed, the only thing that mattered to these authors, whose readers were probably predominantly men, was that the nude god-

dess could be seen totally, either in reality or in the imagination. Both authors stress more than anything the visibility and accessibility of the goddess. They were interested in her erotic effect, not the design of her architectural enframement.

It seems quite probable that Praxiteles' Aphrodite was transferred to a new and more conspicuous setting—or to a renovated old one—in later Greek times. This would suggest that there was a revival of interest in the statue many years after its original installation in the fourth century. The revival can be connected, hypothetically, with another episode described by Pliny.

The people of Knidos bought the nude version of Aphrodite after it had been rejected by Kos. It turned out they had made the better deal, because eventually the Knidia's fame became immensely greater than the clothed version. Pliny records that King Nikomedes wished to buy it, promising that he would take care of the city's enormous debt. Although Pliny does not say which Nikomedes, his brief comment has always been accepted as historically plausible, and the monarch is taken to be one of the successive Hellenistic dynasts of Bithynia who were named Nikomedes. G.M.A. Richter and M. Bieber supposed it was Nikomedes I, who founded the capital city and ruled from 278 to 250 B.C. Davis and Kraay assert it was Nikomedes III, who occupied the throne from 128 until his death in 94. Like his predecessors, he was a wealthy moneylender. I am inclined to agree with J.J. Pollitt that the monarch who wished to possess the Knidia was probably Nikomedes IV, who ruled from 94 to 74, after which Rome converted the kingdom of Bithynia into a Roman province. He, too, was a banker, and in his youth, apparently, he had been educated in the west. He may have heard of the Knidia at that time, or perhaps he had even seen it in its newly renovated surroundings. In any case he wanted to transport it back to his home. One is reminded here of Nikomedes' contemporary, the Roman Cicero, who was purchasing sculptures in Greece to decorate his villa at Tusculum. Cicero's tastes were more puritanical and learned, and he never requested a nude female statue; but he and Nikomedes can be compared as art patrons. Furthermore the Bithynian king's request suggests that the Aphrodite of Knidos was, by his time, less a sacred cult statue, and more an exciting work of art that could be "gazed upon from every angle."¹³

13. G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven 1950) 261; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*² (New York 1961) 82; N. Davis and C.M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History* (London 1973) 262; Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 84. On Nikomedes' education: P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley

When Did the Copying of the Knidia Begin?

If the statue of the Aphrodite of Knidos were notorious in its own day, one might expect to find the goddess' innovative nudity and distinctive pose reflected soon after in the art of the late fourth and third centuries. Or, out of civic pride, perhaps her head or full figure would be employed as a coin device in Knidos.

Beginning in the late sixth century B.C. and continuing sporadically until the end of the fifth century, coins from Knidos carry a lion's head on the obverse and the profile of a woman on the reverse. The female head usually faces right, but the hairstyle can be long or short; sometimes it is caught up in a sack (*sakkos*) or ringed with a fillet. She often wears earrings and a necklace. She must represent Aphrodite, whose cult at Knidos was long-standing. Around 350, the female head, facing either left or right, is placed on the obverse, and she can now be clearly identified as Aphrodite Euploia because of the addition of a ship's prow in the field. The head of the goddess continues to appear on Knidian coins until 190 B.C., when that of Apollo is substituted. Stylistic changes also occur over the years as the severe archaic style is gradually modernized by the softer beauty of the late classic and early Hellenistic styles.¹⁴

Even in the late fourth century, when the Knidia had already been in place for about fifty years, her head was still not imprinted on coins. Blinkenberg and other scholars have pointed out that Aphrodite's hairstyle on the coins is not consistent with that allegedly worn by the Knidia. This would suggest that the statue did not yet symbolize the city of Knidos and had still not become a subject of high curiosity or worldwide fame. On the contrary, for several centuries a profile head of the goddess, which was the traditional coin device, seems to have been preferred above the representation of either the face or the full-length figure of the Knidian Aphrodite. Not until the Roman period do coins furnish a secure reflection of Praxiteles' statue, and not until then are we presented with the total figure—the only signifying and secure image of the Knidia.

1990) 910. Possibly Cicero knew by 70 B.C. that Nikomedes had made a bid for the Knidia: see *In Verrem* 2.4.135. For Cicero as art collector: M. Marvin, "Copying in Roman Sculpture: The Replica Series," *Studies in the History of Art* 20, *Retaining the Original* (Washington, 1989) 29–45.

14. C.M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (New York 1966) pl. 186, fig. 633. For coins from Knidos: BMC Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.; H.A. Cahn, *Knidos: Die Münzen des sechsten und des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 1970). Also see L. Lacroix, *Les Reproductions de Statues sur les Monnaies Grecques: La Statuaire archaïque et classique* (Liège 1949) 314.

There is some evidence indicating that sculptured replicas of famous statues were made as early as the third century and the first half of the second century B.C. But the Knidian Aphrodite is not among them. The reproductive method was nonmechanical, since the pointing system, or whatever technique was in use in Roman times, had not yet been invented. One of the most impressive examples of free copying of a renowned statue was the Athena Parthenos made for the library of Pergamon in the early second century. But her full open mouth and dramatically heavy drapery can never be taken for a fifth-century work by Pheidias. Portraits of certain outstanding princes, such as Alexander or the Egyptian Ptolemies, were also duplicated nonmechanically before the late Hellenistic period for political and dynastic purposes. Each portrait was individualized but nevertheless can be tentatively identified with a specific king and related in some features to a presumed prototype.¹⁵

Eventually, Praxiteles' great statue was indeed copied many times, in different sizes and media, all over the Mediterranean world and well into late antiquity. But no copies, not even free ones, were made before the late Hellenistic period, that is, before the late second century B.C. This would suggest that until that time the statue was not well known, and that it did not yet express or reflect widespread needs or sentiments.

Probably the very earliest copy is the marble torso, to which a drapery fragment and a hydria belong, that was found among the treasures retrieved from the shipwreck off Antikythera. P. Bol, who established that the wreck occurred early in the first century B.C., calculated that the torso and other fragments were made shortly before, that is, late in the second century. He noticed that this date coincided very closely with the securely dated group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros in which the Knidia's gesture was mockingly repeated (fig. 12). He also posited that the originating port for the ship may well have been Delos itself, and there was evidence that the island had an extensive copying school.¹⁶

Of the many marble heads thought to be inspired by, if not copied from, the Praxitelean original, the underlife-size "Kaufmann" head in the Louvre is often claimed as the most accurate (fig. 16). It is also the most beautiful and perhaps possesses the dewy quality of the eyes mentioned

15. On Hellenistic copying: M. Gernand, "Hellenistische Peplosfiguren nach klassischen Vorbildern," *AM* 90 (1975) 19, 40; M. Pfanner, "Über des Herstellen von Porträts: Ein Beitrag zu Rationalisierungsmaßnahmen und Produktionsmechanismen von Massenware im späten Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *JdI* 104 (1989) 161–68; R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 27–31.

16. P.C. Bol, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera* (Berlin 1972) 116.

by Lucian. But neither the hairstyle nor the ribbon are thought to reproduce the original. The lips are slightly parted, but she neither smiles nor looks contemptuous. The gentle sweetness of her countenance and the faraway glance make us wish this truly was Praxiteles' original goddess. The head was discovered in Tralles in western Asia Minor and belongs toward the end of the second century.¹⁷

One of the earliest small-scale copies also came from Delos. It is a rather crude marble relief of the late second century B.C. in which a stout Aphrodite covers her genitalia with an enormous hand and raises her right hand unusually high. To her left is an ithyphallic herm, and on the right an attentive Eros holds a shell and alabastron. As in the Delian group of Pan, Aphrodite, and Eros, the Knidia here is recontextualized within a narrative as if she were an amenable and familiar work of art.¹⁸

A great many reduced three-dimensional versions of the Knidia in marble, dating in the late second and first century B.C., were found in Delian houses; and many more were perhaps for sale in this very commercial center. These examples seem hastily executed; no two are identical. Some are rather crudely proportioned, with broad masculine proportions and extremely short legs. But as evidence for the popularity of the type and its wide distribution in secular locations in the Greek world in the first century B.C., they are invaluable. The marble statuette in Malibu named the Venus de Clerq may have come from Syria and was made in Roman times (fig. 17). This copy is incredibly lovely and almost Maillolesque because of the solid legs and sturdy proportions. The large right hand is original and the small oval head faces front. A few marble statuettes of the Knidia were discovered at Knidos itself in a "Hellenistic-Roman" context. As yet only one terracotta adaptation of the statue appears to have been found at that site.¹⁹

There are no replicas of the Aphrodite of Knidos among terracottas from Tanagra, which began to be made in the late fourth century, that is, not too long after Praxiteles' statue. A very large number dating at the end

17. Paris, Louvre MA 3518; LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 395. A. Pasquier, *La Vénus de Milo et les Aphrodites du Louvre* (Paris 1985) 84; Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen*, 332.

18. LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," pl. 37, no. 400.

19. Example Knidia from Delos: LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," pl. 37, no. 396. Malibu example: J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.93. Examples from Knidos: G.E. Bean and J.M. Cook, "The Knidia," *ABSA* 47 (1952) 182, n. 47; Love, *AJA* 76 (1972) 401. Love also mentions a small marble figure from Knidos as a copy of the Knidia: *AJA* 77 (1973) 418 n. 23.

of the first century B.C. were found in the tombs at Myrina. In bronze, the earliest example I could find came possibly from Asia Minor and is dated to the late second century. It is of the highest quality and is presently in New York.²⁰

Thus we learn that copies of the Knidia appear rather suddenly at the end of the Hellenistic period. In my opinion this is not because copying devices became available only at that time or because sculptors had run out of ideas by then and so returned to earlier originals. Rather, the Aphrodite of Knidos had for the first time become a famous work of art. The imposing new setting for the figure and King Nikomedes' bid to buy it occurred at about the same time. Together they lead to the conclusion that by the end of the Hellenistic period, the Knidia filled a new interest and a new function.

20. Terracottas: R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London 1967) 115; S. Mollard-Besques, *Musée national du Louvre, Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite, grecs, étrusques, et romains II: Myrina* (Paris 1963) 16–18, pls. 15–17. Bronze: A. Kozlof and D.J. Mitten, *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze* (Bloomington 1988) no. 15, 106–10.

Chapter 4

Aftermath: Works Inspired by the Knidia

The introduction by Praxiteles of the female nude as a freestanding and life-size subject for art quite naturally led scholars to assume that such a pathbreaking and renowned work immediately stimulated further ventures in the realm of the sculptured nude. Thus the Knidian Aphrodite came to be regarded as a late classic forerunner of a later series of Aphrodite statues created over the course of three Hellenistic centuries, that is, from the third to the first century B.C.

The theories and point of view of J.J. Bernoulli exerted a profound and lasting influence on our understanding of Praxiteles' innovative statue. But they have also affected the interpretation of other figures of the goddess. Sharing Winckelmann's belief that Greek art made after Praxiteles suffered a drastic decline, Bernoulli was inclined to detect symptoms of decay and loss in any single work he thought was executed after the fourth century. By the same token he was predisposed to attach unflattering interpretations to figures of Aphrodite that he deemed were made later than the Knidia.

This bias is revealed when Bernoulli compared the Knidia with two other statues of the nude divinity. One was in Rome; the other was in Florence. They had been known since the seventeenth century, and they were both high on the list of must-see works of art for the grand tour. They are the Capitoline and the Medici Aphrodites (figs. 18 and 19).

While the Knidia uses only one hand for the purpose of concealment, the other two goddesses gesture with both hands, one extending across the breasts, the second lowered over the pubic region. Bernoulli's art historical principle now came into full play. He had insisted on the naive and beautiful rapture of the Aphrodite by Praxiteles but claimed that the poses of the Capitoline and Medici goddesses exhibit shame and self-consciousness. He labeled the action of their arms the "pudica gesture," suggesting that instead of conveying the innocent modesty of the Knidia, they are now intent on further covering their bodies as if they were aware that their exposure was indecent and improper. In other words they now

know for sure that they are being watched. The goddess in the Capitoline Museum, for instance, who wraps both arms around herself, is conscious of her nakedness and of a certain impurity, "like a flower that is touched by a strange hand."¹ But at least, he adds, her nudity is motivated. No water, no vase, and no garment accompany the Medici figure, whose hair is too neat. Therefore for the latter the saving device of a bath was never intended. Moreover, because these goddesses lack the ideal beauty and remoteness of the Knidia, they were later in date. At this point we might recall that Bernoulli had already argued that decorous half-draped statues of the goddess had of necessity prepared the way for the full nudity of the Knidia. To him the Knidia was a high point because of her purity. Because of their embarrassment, later nudes represented a qualitative decline. Thus altogether he had established a skeletal structure for the chronological and stylistic development of Aphrodite statues from the late classic through the Hellenistic periods. Over this time innocence gives way to knowingness, and the half-concealed female form succumbs to absolute revelation.

The basis for a deep misunderstanding and misreading of post-Knidian statues of Aphrodite had thus been laid. In the long run this tended to make it difficult to regard Praxiteles as the pioneering genius he was or to view his figure of the goddess as the splendid exemplar of a new and exciting subject in Greek art.

In the first English monograph on Hellenistic sculpture in 1920, Guy Dickins, who thought the entire Hellenistic period was degenerate, unoriginal, and given to exaggerated tendencies, put the blame on Praxiteles. Dickins worried, as Bernoulli did, about Aphrodite's state of mind, and he lays on her a good case of Christian guilt: "The goddess of Knidos is naked but she is only half-conscious of her nakedness. Her eyes are fixed on eternity. . . . But the Capitoline goddess is not thinking about eternity at all. . . . she is suddenly aware of the spectator's gaze. She is the classical counterpart of Susannah in Renaissance art." It would appear that to Dickins the Knidia just scrapes by as an example of his Victorian concept of the "Greek love of beauty." While he can praise Praxiteles' creation, he feels it is, at the same time, something of a calamity, because its influence spreads widely and permeates nearly all subsequent sculpture: "The whole Hellenistic age is in servitude to Praxitelean ideals of women whether in Alexandria, Rhodes, or Pergamon."²

1. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, 221.

2. G. Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (Oxford 1920) 9, 25.

Bernoulli was more interested in classification than in establishing a detailed chronology, and the scholars surveyed just above also dealt with the development of types of Aphrodite in only the most general way. A more systematic analysis of the evolution of Aphrodite statuary had to await the proposals of Gerhard Krahmer, who offered the first comprehensive theory for the development of Hellenistic sculpture. He wrote two seminal articles—in 1923–24 and in 1927—which together provided an overall stylistic framework for the period.

By examining the composition and movement of single figures as well as groups, Krahmer proposed three phases of development, beginning with the early Hellenistic (330–225 B.C.), which was marked by “closed form,” restraint, controlled poses, and centripetal design. The next period, the middle Hellenistic (225–150), is characterized by a gradual tendency to depict “open form,” radiating compositions, and dynamic emotion. In the late Hellenistic phase (150–75), open form persisted, along with unifacial compositions and ever-increasing classicizing. Krahmer analyzed only one Aphrodite, the marble from Melos in the Louvre (fig. 33). One of the most important and influential aspects of Krahmer’s methodology was his constant consideration of the spatial implications of a statue’s pose and his imposition of a linear development.³

Although it has aroused considerable controversy and skepticism, Krahmer’s scheme of development has often been applied in attempts to date the individual Aphrodites believed to have originated in the Hellenistic period. One of the most comprehensive applications of Krahmer’s method was made in a doctoral dissertation of 1957 by D.M. Brinkerhoff. This was published with minor revisions in 1978. It was extremely useful because it set forth an evolution in broad and lucid outlines. A limited number of types of Aphrodite statues that can be most clearly differentiated in terms of pose was chosen to illustrate the salient aspects of the development. Brinkerhoff too was concerned with the internal feelings of the goddess as they were expressed in the statue, but he subtly combined them with the stylistic framework of Krahmer. He does not question the premise that half-draped figures precede the nude invention by Praxiteles. Hence, the Aphrodite of Arles and that of Capua (fig. 34) are at the very beginning of his sequence because they evince the majesty of the fifth century. A definite and crucial break occurs with the nudity of the Aphrodite of Knidos. It is the “last monumental classic creation.” The pose

3. G. Krahmer, “Stilphasen der hellenistische Plastik,” *RM* 38/39 (1923–24) 138–84; “Die einansichtige Gruppe und die späthellenistische Kunst,” *NAkG* 1927, 53–91.

maintains a frontality, and yet the composition contains a new, three-dimensional quality. Accompanying this new formal relationship to space, and indeed dependent on it, is an even more important change in meaning: for while the body turns more in space the action of the arms simultaneously creates "a new sense of isolation, withdrawal . . . of separateness." In sum, her nudity and somewhat open composition are symbolic of a new freedom and relation to space into which the spectator now enters. Aware of this, the goddess instinctively covers herself. With her left hand she also lowers her garment onto the hydria. Brinkerhoff, then, agrees with Bernoulli that in the end the Knidian Aphrodite's divinity remained confirmed and her classical innocence undisturbed. That statue was followed in the Hellenistic period by other representations that show a gradual increase in artificiality and in sensuous effects. In the Capitoline Aphrodite (fig. 18), more torsion, naturalism, and spatial expansion are combined with the closed form of Krahmer's early Hellenistic style. As the Hellenistic period proceeds, according to Brinkerhoff, slowly but surely the divinity and the remoteness of the goddess diminish.⁴

Thirty years later, in 1982, Wiltrud Neumer-Pfau carried this methodology to its ultimate conclusion. The writings of Krahmer and Brinkerhoff are fundamental to her study. She selects virtually the same core group of statues of Aphrodite that were analyzed by Brinkerhoff and arranges them in a chronological sequence. But she goes much more deeply into an examination of the pose. Each example is analyzed according to six criteria: the degree of nudity and especially how far the genitalia are exposed, the turn and posture of the head, the gestures, the stability of the stance, spatial composition, and the treatment of the body surfaces. This detailed scrutiny of the formal qualities of each figure leads to a discussion of the psychological condition of each goddess. Both her pose and mental state are determined by Aphrodite's presentiment of an observer. Where the goddess places a hand, how she holds her head or rotates her torso, whether she tenses her buttocks or prefers some draped covering, are all deliberately calculated either to shield or expose her nudity. What Aphrodite decides on these matters is a direct reflection of current ideas about the goddess and of womankind in the Hellenistic period. For example, the more retiring and concealing the pose, the more humble and unequal the status of woman. According to Neumer-Pfau, Krahmer's "closed form" betrays woman's acknowledgment of male supremacy. Aware of feminist

4. D.M. Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite* (New York 1978) 28–29. For Aphrodite of Arles: Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, fig. 501.

issues, Neumer-Pfau attempts to unfold the changing position of women in Hellenistic society. But lacking the original statue, Neumer-Pfau must select a single Roman copy of each type as the focus of her analysis. Any single replica is always unique in some respects, and it may or may not be faithful to the original creation. In short, Aphrodite may be “thinking” something quite different in another Roman copy.⁵

One aim of this chapter is to present in brief the history of seven major Aphrodite types and to discuss a sampling of the reasons offered for the date of each one. My intent is to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem by showing how widely the dating of the types diverge. Often they diverge not by a few years, or even by decades, but by whole centuries, and in every case the differences remain unresolved and inconclusive. The severe discrepancies will serve to illustrate the confusion—or better, the downright muddle—that besets the subject of the female nude in Greek art, and the consequent need for a new approach. Another aim will be to look for possible precursors of the separate types in earlier Greek art. Did the sculptors totally invent their new creations, or were they inspired by older themes or works of art?

To arrive at a convincing chronology of our own, it is necessary to consider the originating period of the first replicas of each type. These are frequently of clay and can usually be dated by context. Figurines found in great numbers in the cemeteries at Myrina in Asia Minor are particularly helpful in this respect. But versions in bronze or any other medium must also be surveyed. Unless there is a good reason to suppose otherwise, I believe that the copying of each given type began soon after the creation of the original. This factor will be a decisive guide for the dating of the individual originals.

During the course of this chapter, it will become clear that the ideological bias against the Hellenistic period continues to underlie many of the arguments launched to defend a particular date, and that archaeological evidence from the minor arts has been largely ignored. Moreover, I have observed that if some contemporary archaeologists, that is those writing in the 1980s and 1990s, have disassociated themselves from the ideological bias, they have nonetheless not found any alternative criteria by which to date the individual Aphrodites.

In the end, we will establish a *terminus post quem* for the original types and will place them securely where they belong—no earlier than the late Hellenistic period.

5. W. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftlichen Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen* (Bonn 1982).

The Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites: The “Pudica Gesture”

The Capitoline Aphrodite (fig. 18) was reported to have been found in Rome between 1670 and 1676 and was presented to the Capitoline Museum in 1752. The statue was well known to Winckelmann, and he considered it an imitation of the Knidia. In his time it was competing against the more famous Medici Aphrodite, and in 1762 he declared the figure in Rome “more woman than the one in Florence.” From 1797 to 1815 the Capitoline goddess was in the Louvre, but it was returned to Rome after Napoleon’s defeat.⁶

The Capitoline figure was carved out of Parian marble in the second century A.D. Her pose is contrapposto, with the weight on the left leg and with the raised versus relaxed arms correctly counterpoised. There is a slight forward lean as the two arms move to the front of her body. It is the left hand that now covers the pubic zone, and the right arm crosses her torso below the breasts, which are thus not concealed. She seems a younger woman than the Knidia. Her polished white breasts are absolutely circular. Her abundant hair is piled high, waved, and stylishly twisted. Yet it eventually trails down her back, which underlines the theme of undressing. Most of the fingers are restored. The vase at the lower left is tall and elegant, and the garment thrown over it is elaborately fringed. When I view the figure as a whole, it is difficult for me to detect either shame or self-consciousness in her pose, or any overt acknowledgment of the presence of a spectator.

It is astonishing how much disagreement exists about the date of the supposed original of this famous figure. The nudity, the standing pose, and the hand over the genitals seem so similar to the Knidian Aphrodite that it has been presumed to be a direct follower of Praxiteles. At one time, Brinkerhoff thought it might be almost contemporary with the Knidia and the work of the great fourth-century master Skopas. Neumer-Pfau feels the Capitoline Aphrodite exhibits more strain, shame, and anxiety than the Knidia and would therefore place the original about 300 B.C. R. Lullies measured the downward gaze, the degree of self-consciousness, and the space around the figure and decided that while the conception was unthinkable without the Knidia, it was a variation created not too much later, in the early third century. In 1951 B.M. Felletti Maj considered the realistic anatomy symptomatic of the first half of the second

6. Rome, Capitoline Museum 409; *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 409; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 318–20.

century B.C. and the conception of feminine beauty “without spiritual life” to be inferior and far removed from Praxiteles’ style. She thought it possible that the prototype originated in Asia Minor. W. Fuchs favors the period between 150 and 120, citing principally the classicistic features of the head and the sensual nakedness; and as early as 1912 Henry Stuart Jones located it in the first century B.C. as a “good work of late Greek or early Roman times” that repeats certain fourth-century conventions in the modeling of the head. B.S. Ridgway finds it impossible to reach a definite conclusion, but she relates it to other copies made in the late Hellenistic period. She mentions, for example, a variant statuette from Delos of the late second century B.C.⁷

A very large number of marble replicas and offshoots of the Capitoline type exist, but the precise appearance of the single prototype, if indeed there was one, remains uncertain. The marble versions show different accompaniments: a dolphin, a tree, or an Eros. These attributes have prompted the suggestion that the original was of bronze, leaving the choice of the supporting motif to the copyist. The figure cannot be associated definitely with any reference in ancient writings. Her compact standing pose and life-size scale have raised the possibility that the original was either a cult or a votive statue. We have no clear evidence either way. Many of the larger marble versions of imperial date have come from the western Roman provinces, especially from Rome itself.

Included among the many replicas are under life-size versions that appear most frequently in the east. They may have been used as domestic ornaments or in house shrines, and it is among these that we find the earliest copies. They are all different in one way or another, especially in the position of the head, and none wears the elaborate headdress of the Capitoline statue. One may label them replicas, but sometimes they seem to be original masterpieces, shaped and altered by an individual imagination. For instance a beautiful bronze goddess found in Sidon appears almost distraught as she raises her head and eyes to the distance and puts the palm of her right hand down over her heart. She has been dated in both the third and second century, but, as is so often the case, the date

7. D.M. Brinkerhoff, “Figures of Venus, Creative and Derivative,” in *Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*, ed. D.J. Mitten et al. (Mainz 1971) 9–16.; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 68–74; R. Lullies, *Die kauende Aphrodite* (Munich 1954) 71–72; B.M. Felletti Maj, “Afrodite Pudica,” *ArchCl* 3 (1951) 48–54; W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (Munich 1979) 239; H.S. Jones, *A Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome* (Oxford 1912) 182–84; B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 256. Delos variant: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 39, no. 412.

of the copy is geared to the supposed date of the original. There is nothing to indicate that the Sidon figure is earlier than 100 B.C.—if even that. Bronzes in Boston from Beirut and Corinth are designated late Hellenistic by C.C. Vermeule. A terracotta, perhaps from Smyrna, is probably also of the late second century, and another, of the first century B.C., maybe from Myrina, supports her weight on the right leg instead of the left. Altogether then, I think it is difficult to date the original much earlier than 100 B.C.⁸

The Medici Aphrodite (fig. 19) was in the Villa Medici in Florence in 1638 and was installed in the Uffizi, its present location, by 1688. Other copies, however, were known in the late fifteenth century, since Botticelli based his central figure in the *Birth of Venus* on the type. Along with the Capitoline Aphrodite, the Medici was very famous in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Winckelmann greatly admired her virginal beauty, “which resembles a rose which, after a lovely dawn, unfolds its leaves in the rising sun.” In his mind’s eye, he could even see a courtesan standing naked before the artist. Kenneth Clark understood how a Greek nude statue of a woman could be both sensual and religious. He approved of the sweetness and decorum of the Knidia’s pose, but thought nevertheless that Praxiteles’ figure had unfortunate consequences. Whereas even lifeless copies of the Knidian Aphrodite have traces of a “purity and a serene humanity,” the Medici Venus is “no more than a drawing room ornament.” For the development of the subject of the female nude in Greek Hellenistic art, Clark can only predict a decline, not only because of the period’s artistic bankruptcy in general, but also because “Aphrodite is always ready to relapse into her first vegetable condition.” The basic problem for Clark, and also for R. Carpenter, is a formal one: he was convinced that women’s bodies, unlike men’s, are inherently unstructured and potato-like.⁹

The support attached to the left leg of the Medici figure has two tiny Erotes playing with a dolphin, another allusion to the goddess’ birth from the sea. The major restorations are the whole right arm and her left arm from the elbow. The plinth supporting the statue is inscribed with the name of the artist, Kleomenes, an Athenian and the son of Apollodoros.

8. Sidon bronze: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 413 and pl. 159, no. 10; C. Rolley, *Die griechischen Bronzen* (Munich 1984) 220, pl. 199; A. Pasquier, *La Vénus de Milo*, 63. Beirut and Corinth bronzes: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 39, nos. 414–15. Smyrna and Myrina terracottas: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 417, pl. 39, 418.

9. Medici Aphrodite: Florence, Uffizi 224; *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 419; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique* 325–28; Winckelmann, *History*, vol. 2, 92–93; Clark, *The Nude*, 49, 81–87, 93.

Because of the pose, one cannot avoid the conclusion that, like the Capitoline, the Medici Aphrodite was ultimately inspired by the Aphrodite carved by Praxiteles. The weight-supporting leg and the gestures of the arms in both the Capitoline and Medici statues are virtually identical. The distinctive features of the latter are the uplifted and sharply turned head and the shorter, less elaborate coiffure. Mansuelli thinks the original would not have required a support and therefore was made of bronze. No evidence points to a cult function.¹⁰

The divergence of view regarding the date of the Medici prototype is again remarkable. And in my opinion the chronological range is based on the false assumption that the Medici is an accurate reproduction of a single original that is different from the prototype of the Capitoline figure. Consequently, despite the Medici statue's very strong similarity to the Capitoline type, the two have been separated by a wide gulf.

B. Felletti Maj thought that the original of the Medici was from the hand of a disciple versed in the idealism and grace of Praxiteles, and that it therefore belonged between 300 and 280, a full century before the Capitoline. Comparing the Medici statue to the Knidia, Brinkerhoff detects a new precision in the pudica gesture and an attitude of mincing stylishness that forecasts "the artificiality and deliberate pomposity" of the late Hellenistic style. He dated the Medici about 300 B.C. In an earlier publication, he thought that the more open form and fleshier style of the Medici were qualities important and different enough to locate it after the Capitoline, in the classicistic phase of the Hellenistic period, 150–100 B.C. Neumer-Pfau considered the sharper turn of the Medici's head crucial and indicated that the goddess was alarmed by the presence of an observer. Therefore the statue must have been created later than the Capitoline by as much as fifty years. Along with many other authorities, R. Lullies proposes a late Hellenistic date for what he thinks is simply a variation of the Capitoline type.¹¹

The authenticity of the inscription on the plinth, which gives the name of the sculptor as Kleomenes, has sometimes been doubted. The form of the lettering is characteristic of the first half of the first century B.C. F. Muthmann considered the support with Eros on a dolphin comparable to the same group near the foot of the Augustus of Prima Porta. Of course this only certifies the date of Kleomenes' work. Maybe he designed it

10. G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, 2 vols. (Rome 1958) vol. 1, 69–73, no. 45.

11. Felletti Maj, "Aphrodite Pudica," 61; Brinkerhoff dating: *Hellenistic Statues*, 30, "Figures of Venus," 14–15; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 186–91; Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, 73.

himself. Or it is quite possible that he copied an almost contemporary original.¹²

In 1950 Felletti Maj counted 38 copies of the Medici and 101 of the Capitoline Aphrodite. But in the end it is doubtful that these numerous replicas stem from two separate originals. It is more likely that Lullies was correct in seeing the Medici as a variant of the Capitoline. Yet it could be vice versa. In any case it is sometimes impossible to decide if a replica properly belongs under one type or the other. The turn of the head and the coiffure vary so often in the numerous copies that they do not necessarily indicate distinctive features. If the two figures did follow the Knidia, they did so long afterward, because no variation of either type appears to have been produced until after 150 B.C.¹³

Although M. Bernhart, in line with Bernoulli, considered the nudity of the Medici Aphrodite inadequately motivated and thus a reason for dating the figure later than the Capitoline, he still found it impossible to differentiate the two among the many versions that appear on coins. The coin figures may stand with the head turned to the left or to the right, the weight can be on either leg, and the attributes and supporting features are varied. The majority were minted in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Asia Minor, in the later second and early third centuries A.C.¹⁴

The Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites illustrate Bernoulli's pudica gesture, in which the right arm crosses over the body near the breasts and the left hand covers the genitals. It seems inescapable that whoever invented this pose must have known of the Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles. I argued earlier in this section that the one hand that conceals the pubic area of the Knidia underlines her divine power and does not violate her Olympian aloofness.

The gestures of the Capitoline and Knidian Aphrodites are admittedly different. Bernoulli described the former as standing "with the helplessness of an undressed woman, conscious of her nakedness and seized with a sense of shame." Blinkenberg wrote that the Capitoline goddess' actions are motivated by the glance of the viewer and that they are derived from the appearances of fertility goddesses of early times (see, e.g., fig. 7).

12. Inscription: Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 554; F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen und ihr dekoratives Beiwerk an griechischen und römischen Bildwerken*, AbhHeid 1950, 3, 27–28.

13. The problem of types is demonstrated by the listings in LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," where the replicas of the Capitoline type in nos. 414 and 417 could, because of the short hairstyle, just as reasonably be classified as copies of the Medici.

14. M. Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen* (Munich n.d.) 38–43.

Kenneth Clark remarked that the pose of the Knidia is open and unafraid but that the composition of the Capitoline Aphrodite is “impregnable,” implying that she stood like a fortified citadel. In short we have had occasion to learn that the contrast between the Knidia’s pose and that of the Capitoline Aphrodite has been considered crucial by scholars through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I think they were right. But I believe they were wrong about its meaning and chronological significance.¹⁵

Renaissance painters frequently used the pudica gesture or a near equivalent in depictions of Eve or Venus, and these depictions help us better understand the special nature of the ancient statues. Botticelli and Masaccio in the south of Europe and Jan van Eyck and Dürer in the north presented their naked subjects in poses that are clearly based on such ancient statue-types as the Medici figure. But the Eves and Venuses of Christian art are characterized as pathetic, evil, wily, or sad; and they always seem to be conscious of guilt. In Masaccio’s famous fresco of the *Expulsion*, for example, the pudica gesture of Eve refers to her temptation of Adam and her resultant sinfulness. Her face expresses her agony, and she presses her arms against her body and desperately clutches her breast with one hand (fig. 20).

The arms of the Capitoline and Medici figures do not suppress the body; they hardly even touch it. And they never truly conceal the breasts. Whether curved toward the pubic area or the breasts, the arms retrace and echo, without apology, the soft swelling of the young female body. Rather than shielding or hiding their nudity, their gestures are intended to emphasize it. The gestures trace out and define a magnetic field, so to speak—a kind of power area occupied by their nude bodies. The action of the two arms and hands is wholly different from—and therefore disconnected from—the explicit and narrowly focused gestures of oriental nature goddesses (fig. 7). Further, these later Greek goddesses declare their sexuality even more emphatically than the Knidia. Rather than exhibiting shame or self-consciousness, which so many writers think they see, these goddesses are indifferent to any audience and secure in their divine potency and autonomy.

In 1803 the neoclassical sculptor Canova was commissioned by the king of Etruria to make a copy of the Medici Aphrodite, which along with the Capitoline, had been taken to Paris by Napoleon. A little later Canova conceived an Aphrodite of his own, the *Venus Italica*, which was com-

15. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, 221; Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 44; Clark, *The Nude*, 86.

pleted in 1811 (fig. 21). The *Venus Italica* is based on the Medici, but the difference between the two is startling. Because she clutches a large piece of drapery to cover her lower body as well as one breast, and because she turns her head even more abruptly to the right and huddles her shoulders, Canova's *Venus*, compared to the Medici Aphrodite, is blatantly aware of an observer who, inevitably reacting, will find her cutely evocative and sensual. One contemporary conjectured that the model Canova used for his *Venus* was obviously too shy to take off all her clothes. Canova went on to make other variations on the Medici theme, with each figure clasping some kind of garment. He seemed then not quite ready to accept the total nudity of the Medici Aphrodite or to understand its true ancient meaning. He appeared to be seeking instead a more modest and elevated conception. Yet rather than decreasing the physical and erotic overtones of the statue, the cunning deployment of drapery additions only enhances them. In profound contrast, Menophantos, who signed a marble Aphrodite in Rome that is a variant of the Capitoline/Medici types, confirms, in my opinion, the unconflicted reaction of an ancient artist to female nudity (fig. 22). This late Hellenistic statue represents the goddess raising an end of drapery up to, but not over, her pubic area. The drapery plays, in every sense, a supporting role.¹⁶

Crouching Aphrodite

Even though less complete than other copies, the Crouching Aphrodite in the National Museum in Rome is considered one of the most accurate (fig. 23). It was found in the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli in 1914. This type, however, was known in Rome by the late sixteenth century, and although Winckelmann does not mention it, one can hardly doubt that he saw a copy in the Villa Medici. Judging from the number of ancient replicas and its long career in later art, the kneeling posture was felt to be extremely appealing. The heavy weight of the pear-shaped body, the pendulous breasts, and the ample rolls of flesh around the abdomen seem, perhaps, a more outspoken statement about the ripened female body than a standing figure.¹⁷

16. *Venus Italica*: Florence, Pitti Palace. Aphrodite of Menaphantos: Rome, National Museum of the Terme 75674, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 422.

17. Crouching Aphrodite: Rome, National Museum 108597, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 1018; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 321–23; P.P. Bober and R. Rubenstein,

For many years this type has been held up as a prime example of Krahmer's centripetal composition. The design in many copies, but not all, is pyramidal and conceived in depth. Krahmer adopted the view that because of a passage in Pliny, the original could be assigned to a sculptor named Doidalsas. It was commissioned by Nikomedes, the first king of Bithynia (d. 247 B.C.) and the ancestor of Nikomedes IV, who, as I argued in chapter 3, tried to buy Praxiteles' nude Aphrodite. For Krahmer this evidence yielded a firm date for delineating an early Hellenistic style that involved compact figural designs. However the statue has been convincingly detached from a supposed sculptor named Doidalsas.¹⁸

Despite the leading example in the National Museum in Rome illustrated in figure 23 and the many other copies of this type, it is not possible to reconstruct a single prototype in which details of pose, scale, medium, or function can be stated with certainty. Most characteristic of the general type and of its close variant, the Crouching Anadyomene known as the "Rhodian type" (fig. 24), is that the right leg, which is tucked under the body, bears most of the weight, while the bent left leg preserves the balance. The torso is sometimes rotated, sometimes quite frontal; the position of the arms and hands varies. Eros is present in a few marble versions, but his pose differs in each case. He also appears beside his mother on coins issued in Bithynia under Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–35), but Aphrodite crouches alone on other imperial coins from Asia Minor. There is no agreement about whether the original was a cult statue, a votive statue, or neither. In Roman times, as Ridgway suggests, it was obviously so popular that it could have decorated the side of a pool or the shade of a garden.¹⁹

The original of the Crouching Aphrodite is most commonly dated from the middle to the late third century B.C. The arguments for this depend either on accepting the Doidalsas attribution or on the still potent appeal

Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources (Oxford 1986) no. 18. J. Raeder points out that Hadrianic copyists took special pleasure in fleshy full versions of their Hellenistic models: *Die Statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Frankfurt 1983) Cat. 1, 55, 229.

18. A. Linfert, "Der Meister der kauernde Aphrodite," *AM* 84 (1969) 158–64.

19. Rhodian type: Rhodes Museum, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 1027. For a crystal version in Malibu of the first century B.C.: A. Krug, "Die 'kauernde Aphrodite' in Kristall," *GettyMusJ* 10 (1982) 145–52. G. Merker thinks the Rhodian type may be Roman: *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes* (Göteborg 1973) 25; coins: Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen*, no. 306 versus no. 301; B.S. Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," in *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 7, 1979; *Ancient Roman Gardens*, ed. W.F. Jashemski and E. Macdougall (Washington, D.C. 1981) 9–28.

of Krahmer's stylistic periodization. R. Lullies subscribes to both and dates the original to shortly after 250. According to Brinkerhoff, the enclosed composition is symptomatic not only of the later third century but also of the goddess' detached mood. Neumer-Pfau argues that the wrapped-up pose evinces modesty and withdrawal, and that the maturity and richness of her body are characteristically early Hellenistic. B.S. Ridgway concludes that the existing copies are based on a prototype not earlier than 200. A. Linfert attributes the statue to a hypothetical Polycharmos who he estimates worked in the middle of the second century and who, according to Pliny, carved a bathing Aphrodite.²⁰

Some of the copies of the Crouching Aphrodite are life-size and some are in statuette form. Myrina and Delos have yielded a few terracotta examples in the round of late Hellenistic date. Bronze versions similarly belong no earlier than 150 B.C., and variants of the type in any medium are more common in Roman than in late Greek times.²¹

A critic once observed that "it is characteristic of Hellenistic art to undertake in large sculpture what had heretofore been depicted in relief art." In a limited sense this seems to be applicable in the case of the Crouching Aphrodite. A kneeling nude bather—not necessarily Aphrodite—was frequently represented in the minor arts before the Hellenistic period (see, e.g., fig. 25), that is, before any copies of our canonical type appeared. Lullies has summarized other occurrences on vases, scarabs, gems, and mirrors of the fifth and fourth centuries. However, unlike the late Hellenistic statuettes cited above, they are basically flat and pictorial rather than three-dimensional conceptions.²²

20. D.M. Brinkerhoff, "Hypothesis on the History of the Crouching Aphrodite Type in Antiquity," *GettyMusJ* 6–7 (1978–79) 83–96; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 118–56; Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 230–32. A. Linfert, "Der Meister der kauernenden Aphrodite," 160–61. Polycharmos is mentioned by Pliny as the sculptor of a statue in Rome of a "bathing Venus" (NH 36.35). The date of this sculptor cannot be ascertained, nor can the "bathing" Aphrodite be specifically identified with the type under discussion. An inscribed base from Thasos carries the name of Polycharmos the father of Philiskos of Rhodes. The inscription can be dated around 50 B.C., and Polycharmos may be the person referred to by Pliny. In my opinion Linfert invents a genealogy and an earlier Polycharmos to posit a mid-second-century date for the sculpture, which he sees as three-dimensional (i.e., mid-Hellenistic after Krahmer) as opposed to a late Hellenistic crouching type with a flat conception. Cf. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 259, n. 23.

21. Other versions: LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," nos. 1018–27, 1030–35. The example in Malibu from Myrina is dated to the second quarter of the second century B.C. by Brinkerhoff. He relies on a stylistic comparison of the head with a bronze portrait of Arsinoe III and with certain details of Pergamene works of art: "Hypothesis," 83–96.

22. Antecedents in relief sculpture: Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, 56–61. Vase with bather: Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 2707, LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 988. A Crouching

One might also recall certain large-scale statues which, in terms of the pose, could be deemed precursors. Both the draped kneeling girl ("O") and the nude kneeling youth ("B") from the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (ca. 460 B.C.) draw up one leg for balance and bend the other back under the body in the same manner as the Crouching Aphrodite.²³ Copies of the Crouching Aphrodite in the round of late Hellenistic or Roman date, however, do not reproduce any of these earlier classical depictions. Nor, I believe, can it be argued that they are even derived from any one of them. The fact of the matter is that a kneeling pose, when required by the subject and context, is continuously represented in Greek art—but without exact repetition. In this context the canonic type under discussion is a new conception.

Sandalbinder (or Aphrodite Loosening Her Sandal)

This type of nude Aphrodite was well known and frequently adapted as early as the sixteenth century. Intrigued by the turning pose, Giambologna extended it into sinuous and sensuous torsion.²⁴ E. Künzl, who made a detailed study of the type, lists about 180 replicas, including figure 26, a terracotta allegedly from Smyrna in Boston. Each example is under life-size, and according to him they are all paraphrases of a single original. Because of the seemingly endless number of variations that the theme itself encourages, we are not likely to find the original. On a coin from Aphrodisias, Aphrodite stands on her right leg; on one from Apollonia she stands on her left. In three-dimensional replicas the goddess sometimes takes her weight on her right leg; sometimes, but less often, on her left. She may lean on a tree trunk, pillar, or herm, or she may balance independently holding a wreath. The presence of Eros, a dolphin, jewelry, or an apple sometimes appears, clinching her identity as Aphrodite. It is usually assumed that she is removing her sandal, the last item to be doffed before her bath, but a sandal is not always present. On the whole the effect is lighthearted and the action itself momentary and unpretentious. Only because Bernoulli thought the figure seemed to be preparing for a bath could

Aphrodite on top of a gold pin now in the Benaki Museum, Athens (*LIMC* no. 138), has been cited as an antecedent of the monumental statue. The date of the pin is controversial; I accept Lullies' date of ca. 100 B.C.. Cf. Brinkerhoff, "Hypothesis," 93, n. 39; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 459, n. 735.

23. Olympia: B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus, Olympia* (London 1967) pls. 24, 51.

24. Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists*, 64, no. 20.

he see the subject as Aphrodite, the most frequent Olympian bather. He commented, I think rightly, that the nudity of the female body and the charm and beauty of the design seemed more important to the sculptor than the religious meaning of the goddess. Whether an ordinary woman or a goddess, the figure seems self-absorbed and her action functional; she does not seem to strike a pose for the benefit of an observer.²⁵

The Boston version, made in the first century B.C., is one of the most beautiful and best preserved examples (fig. 26). The head is tilted to flow with the curve of the body, and the surfaces are subdued in their roundness. A high diadem set into her hair would seem to confirm her divine identity. No sandal remains—if indeed there ever was one; she barely touches her leg with her right hand. The whole idea of depicting a human figure engaged in a complicated but nonathletic pose, in which weight and balance have to be considered and physically mastered, seems to be a particularly Greek one.

Künzl noted the rotating nature of the composition and its greater openness compared to the Crouching Aphrodite, so he considered that the prototype of the Sandalbinder should be placed in Krahmer's baroque phase of the High Hellenistic period, that is, between 230 and 190 B.C. Brinkerhoff also saw the pose as centrifugal. The position of the arms has "a tendency to open up the volume and expand the figure into surrounding space." The goddess is now almost totally in a mundane world, and consequently the figure was probably a religious offering rather than a cult statue conceived in about 200. According to Neumer-Pfau there is much movement in the body and freedom in the arm gestures, yet there is still a residual shyness that is especially observed in profile, when her genitalia are obscured. This degree of modesty, she believes, is characteristic of the period around 200. R. Lullies sees the figure as one of the new creations of the naked goddess that enjoyed a kind of renaissance after 150 B.C., and W. Fuchs also brings the invention of the type—which he characterized as "rococo"—down to the late Hellenistic period.²⁶

How little there is to go on to support a date earlier than the late Hellenistic for the original version of the Sandalbinder can be illustrated by analyzing the replicas assembled by Künzl. His listings include their distribution by quantity, provenance, and period.

25. Boston Sandalbinder: Museum of Fine Arts 97.358, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 472; E. Künzl, "Venus vor den Bade—ein Neufund der Colonia Ulpia traiana und Bemerkungen zum Typus der 'sandalösenden Aphrodite,'" *BjB* 170 (1970) 102–62.

26. Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues*, 79–97; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 182; Lullies, *Die kauende Aphrodite*, 82; Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*, 234–35.

The seventy-eight copies in marble were found in about equal numbers in the east and west Mediterranean; half are undated. Of the rest, nineteen were made in Roman times and thirty are late Hellenistic. Of sixty-four bronze versions, twenty are undated, forty-one are Roman, three are late Hellenistic, and none precedes 150 B.C. Of the twenty-one terracottas, two are undated, three are Roman, sixteen are late Hellenistic, and none precedes the mid-second century B.C. About twenty examples of the type appear on coins, gems, and reliefs. Half are undated; the others are Roman. Most of the bronzes came from Italian finds, especially Herculaneum; a few came from Europe, Sicily, Greece, and Syria. The terracottas seem to have been very popular in Delos and also in western Asia Minor, because many stem from Priene, Smyrna, and Myrina. For that reason Künzl thinks the original type may have been designed in one of the cities of western Asia Minor.

Like the Crouching Aphrodite type, a woman securing or untying a sandal had pre-Hellenistic renderings. A nude female stoops to fix her sandal on a red-figure pelike of about 440 in the Louvre, but both arms, rather than one, reach forward (fig. 27). For the action in general, the most famous antecedent is the graceful draped Nike of about 410 B.C. from the balustrade around the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis in Athens. This is of course a section of a low relief, so problems of physical balance are not as acute as in figures sculpted in the round. In fact the Nike's stance is unsteady, but nevertheless it is satisfying because of the repetitive loops of the transparent drapery and the tilted weight of her right wing. A standing Aphrodite loosening her sandal in terracotta of the third century is common in Sicily and Magna Graecia and is considered a western creation. But the type is quite different from the one under discussion, because the figure is erect and half-draped.²⁷

There is no three-dimensional version of the Sandalbinder, as Künzl makes clear, before the late Hellenistic period. Yet he maintains that since terracotta and bronze replicas begin to appear in the late second century, an earlier prototype must have existed. But, that there needs to be close to one hundred years between original and replica—as he is suggesting—is highly questionable and is based primarily, in my opinion, on a reliance on Krahmer's methodology.

27. Louvre pelike: Paris, Louvre G 549, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 462. Nike: Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, fig. 420. Sicilian examples: M. Bell III, *Morgantina Studies I: The Terracottas* (Princeton 1981) 46, 159 no. 228, pl. 58 (early third century).

Aphrodite Anadyomene ("Rising from the Sea")

The painter Apelles was as renowned in antiquity as his contemporary Praxiteles. Pliny wrote that he excelled all painters who came before and after him, and that "he contributed almost more to the art of painting than all other painters combined" (NH 35.97). It was said that he was without equal in instilling a quality of grace and linear charm. One late anecdote records his additional ability to render detailed reality: live horses neighed when they were led in to see a painted horse by the master. Apelles also made portraits, and his nature, like that of Praxiteles, seems to have been amorous. One of his most admiring and frequent clients was Alexander the Great, who gave his own mistress Pankaspe to the artist because, when she posed for a portrait, he had fallen in love with her nude beauty. Both Quintilian and Cicero rated Apelles very highly for his ingenuity and grace and for perfecting the art of painting.²⁸

We already know from the anecdote related by Athenaeus (13.590) that both Praxiteles and Apelles allegedly watched Phryne take her clothes off, let her hair down, and walk naked into the sea at Eleusis. At that moment Apelles was inspired to use her as his model for a panel-painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene ("rising from the sea") that was installed in the sanctuary of Asklepios on the island of Kos (Pliny NH 35.91). The work is not mentioned in the fourth century or even in the third. It is particularly interesting that in Herodas' Fourth *Mime* (written in the first half of the third century) two women visit the temple at Kos and express delight at the statues they see, as well as paintings by Apelles, but the Anadyomene goes unnoticed.

However by Pliny's time the painting seems to have become Apelles' most renowned work. Pliny states that the Anadyomene by the painter, like other works of its kind, was at one time eclipsed but then eventually was rendered famous by the Greek epigrams written in her praise (NH 5.91). For my purposes, this puts the matter very clearly: Pliny is saying that Greek literary exercises of the late Hellenistic period were being read by everyone and were causing a revival of interest in certain works of art that had until then been forgotten. Apelles' Anadyomene is one of these, and another, as I have contended, was the Knidia. As noted already, there was an effusion of epigrams coinciding with a revival of interest in Praxiteles' Aphrodite in the late Hellenistic period. A typical poem in praise of the Anadyomene was written by Antipater of Sidon, who died in about

28. Pliny: Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 159, 222–23.

125 B.C.: "Look on the work of Apelles' brush; Kypris, just rising from the sea, her mother; how, grasping her dripping hair with her hand, she wrings the foam from the wet locks . . ." ²⁹

Apelles' painting was rediscovered in late Hellenistic times and undoubtedly became as attractive to tourists as the Aphrodite by Praxiteles. After visiting Kos, one might just sail on to Knidos. Other points in the subsequent history of the two works also coincide. Nikomedes had offered to cancel the Knidians' debt in exchange for the Knidia. Apelles' painting was regarded as a commodity of the same kind. Augustus had it shipped from Kos to Rome and dedicated it in a temple to the divine Julius Caesar. According to Strabo (14.2.19), the Koans, who at this time were under Roman rule, were permitted to forgo part of their tribute in return for the painting. In the course of time the work suffered damage and decay. No one capable enough could be found to restore it, so a copy was made at Nero's request. The restoration of the original finally took place in the reign of Vespasian.

A search for a sculptured version derived from the Aphrodite of the painting has been going on for a long time—unsuccessfully. The crux of the problem involves the goddess' action. What moment of her emergence from the sea did Apelles choose to depict? The literary sources are too ambiguous to provide a clear answer. Arguments have been advanced that the goddess was still half-immersed in the water, that she was standing on the shore and was already half-draped, or that she was standing completely naked on the shore. At least four epigrams, such as the one quoted above, indicate that Aphrodite was wringing the foam from her wet locks.

Despite the uncertainties, two major contestants for a sculptured version have been proposed: a standing, half-draped type, and a fully nude type. Characteristic examples are illustrated, the first in the Vatican (fig. 28), and the other in the Palazzo Colonna (fig. 29). Both statues show the goddess with hands raised to her hair. This and their near-nudity or nudity are the main reasons for associating these statues with Apelles' painting. One of the loveliest replicas, a marble demi-statuettes from Benghazi now in the University Museum in Philadelphia, presents Aphrodite from the upper thighs only, suggesting that she may have been set in a pool of water or on a reflecting surface (fig. 30). Yet all the Aphrodite

29. *Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library) vol. 5, 263, no. 178. On Antipater: A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. 2, 32.

types discussed in this study are adaptable to almost any setting, and in my view it is unwise to consider any one copy definitive.³⁰

More copies of the nude adaptation than of the half-draped one have survived, and for both, opinions regarding the date of the original vary enormously. Bernoulli's belief that the covered chronologically precedes the uncovered female body is an important, if unacknowledged, criterion for many scholars. As in the case of the Knidia, it is sometimes assumed that Apelles' painting also immediately inspired successors.

Half-Draped Anadyomene

The half-draped, standing Anadyomene in the Vatican (fig. 28) is first recorded in the eighteenth-century collection of Carlo Albacini in Rome, where he undertook extensive restorations. The lower portion of the body is encircled with a garment knotted conspicuously at the center; the arms, both of which are restored, are raised to her long hair, which she seems to be dressing rather than wringing. Here, as in most examples, the left arm is the lower one. The bowed head and forward-projecting arms are peculiar to this copy and lend the figure a feeling of unusual self-absorption. Other versions also tend to show less torsion in the pose. The weight is most often carried on the left leg. Representations of this type on coins issued by Commodus and Marcus Aurelius in the second century A.C. show, not surprisingly, both arms spread out to the sides and a frontal torso.³¹

M. Bieber located the original in the early third century, associating it with a cult statue erected in Egypt during the reign of Arsinoe II. She was certain the drapery was knotted for security reasons so that the hands could be free to hold the hair. A mid-third-century date is preferred by Brinkerhoff, who notes that the composition is a little more open than that governing the Crouching Aphrodite. He also considers it possible that the original statue was intended for official worship in Egypt, where so many copies were found. Neumer-Pfau thinks that this half-draped Anadyomene is considerably earlier than the nude version and exhibits some of the closed and protected composition of the Capitoline type. To her the degree of concealment is critical (the pubic area is covered) and leads her to date the prototype between 300 and 230. The half-draped

30. Half-draped Anadyomene: Vatican 807, *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 667. Nude type: Rome, Palazzo Colonna 765, *LIMC*, *ibid.*, no. 424; Benghazi: Philadelphia, University Museum, *LIMC*, *ibid.*, pl. 67, no. 677.

31. Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen*, nos. 201–3.

type, she argues, was repeated and varied in the late second century, when the garment sometimes drops drastically and totally reveals the genitals—an eventuality that almost transforms it into the second nude type. The drapery may be rolled rather than knotted and the arms can be higher or lower. W. Fuchs points out that the figure of Psyche in the Capitoline group with Eros, of late Hellenistic date, is draped in a similar fashion. It seems to him that the semidraped Anadyomene originated after the Pergamon Altar, that is, after 160 B.C., and that it too was a creation of “Hellenistic rococo.” Without specifying a date, C.C. Vermeule suggests that the original conception might be assigned to Polycharmos.³²

It has been argued that a tiny half-draped Anadyomene who stands on the head of a silver pin now in Hamburg is an early example of this type in the minor arts. Traces of gilding appear on the surface of the figure, which may have been made in Alexandria. The goddess wears a diadem and arranges her very long hair with both hands. Her body is short and full and her left hip pushes out voluptuously. Eros bends over her left shoulder. H. Hoffmann and P. Davidson list the pin as from the third to second century B.C., comparing it to another pin that supports a Crouching Aphrodite in the Benaki Museum in Athens. The latter is sometimes put in the early third century, but Lullies places it around 100 B.C. In my opinion both pins have been dated in accordance with the supposed—but incorrect—early Hellenistic date for the original statue-type. In the final analysis, none of the known variations on the theme of the half-draped Anadyomene, whether of marble, bronze, or terracotta, large or small, can be dated with certainty earlier than the late Hellenistic period.³³

Nude Anadyomene

The nude Anadyomene in the Palazzo Colonna (fig. 29) was found in Rome. This type and presumably this copy were known to Winckelmann in the later eighteenth century. The weight of the body in this second Anadyomene is also on the left leg, and the left arm is the lower one. Again she seems to be arranging her hair rather than squeezing it. A dolphin leans against her left leg in this and a few other copies. This type

32. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 98; Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues*, 59–60; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 116, 157–63; Helbig⁴ I, 155–56 (W. Fuchs); C.C. Vermeule, Review of *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, by R. Lullies, *AJA* 60 (1956) 462.

33. Hamburg pin: LIMC 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 68, no. 683; Benaki pin: LIMC, *ibid.*, pl. 103, no. 1038; H. Hoffman and P. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (n.p. 1965) 192, no. 72; Lullies, *Die Kauernde Aphrodite*, 83.

was used on many Roman coins of the eastern provinces, especially Bithynia. The rather pained facial expression of the Colonna figure is not repeated in other replicas. As an idiosyncrasy of the copyist, it reminds us again that details of that nature—including those that depict anatomical or muscular structure—should not be relied on to lead to a correct reconstitution of the style of the original.

One might fancy that the goddess is shown here at a later stage in the bathing sequence than that of the Knidia. It is rather amusing to recount Bernoulli's argument that the nude Anadyomene was represented one stage earlier than the half-draped Anadyomene, who had started to put her clothes back on! However the theme itself, a woman dressing her hair, is virtually timeless and par excellence an archetypal feminine activity scarcely in need of a mythological explanation. During the Italian Renaissance, the Venetian painter Titian was undoubtedly aware of Apelles' legendary masterpiece, and for his *Venus Anadyomene* he depended on an ancient statue of the Colonna type for his model. Yet for Titian the model served mainly as a pretext for displaying the lush beauty of a woman at her toilette, a theme that he found to his liking and that permitted variations.

R. Lullies remarked that Aphrodite in Greek art of the fourth century is gradually unveiled and that the eroticism of the representations increases as the Hellenistic period proceeds. Consistent with this, he believed the semidraped Anadyomene was a mid-third-century creation, whereas the naked type, which exhibited open form, was at least 150 years later. Brinkerhoff agreed that an interval between the two existed, and he dated the latter to the later third century. It was inconceivable to him that the nude Anadyomene, a work of great originality and naturalism, could have been produced after the third century, when the decline of Hellenistic art began. It does not fit, he adds, with either the passionate and exaggerated style of mid-second-century Pergamon or the arid classicism of the late Hellenistic period. B. Gassowska, along with Linfert, posits the existence of a mid-second-century Polycharmos and attributes the standing nude Anadyomene to him.³⁴

Neumer-Pfau regards the design of the nude Anadyomene as the end of a development. The Sandalbinder still clung in part to a modest posture. But the pose of the Anadyomene has completely unraveled and is open and self-revealing, with the view of the whole body unhindered and the goddess herself fearless in her nakedness. Aphrodite now realizes how

34. Lullies, *ibid.*, 76–78; Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues*, 62–67; B. Gassowska, *Polycharmos z Rhodos* (Wrocław 1971) 173.

attractive she is, and the observer is no longer threatening but admiring. This in turn indicates a change in the valuation of women, especially among the Ptolemaic queens of Egypt, where perhaps this Aphrodite type was created. Woman was now less an erotic object than a self-confident partner with men and was more equal than ever before. The unabashed freedom of the pose suggests to Neumer-Pfau that the original conception was executed in about 150 B.C. but, to preserve a modicum of decorum, only on a small scale. It was too bold to be a large cult image in a temple. Rather it was intended as a dedication in a sanctuary devoted to Aphrodite in Egypt. Neumer-Pfau states that the type was produced in monumental form fifty years later and can be seen in the Colonna statue and in the more famous marble from the baths at Cyrene, a figure of velvety beauty, now in the National Museum in Rome.³⁵

The motif of women grooming or washing their hair can be found in pre-Hellenistic art. On the lid of a small red-figure bowl of the fourth century, perhaps used for cosmetics or jewelry, a veritable hairdressing salon is represented: one young woman pours water from an elegant jug over the hair of a kneeling young maiden, a second woman seems to be having her hair combed, and a third tries out a new style. Vases of this type (*lekanis*) were given to the bride at the time of her marriage and were often decorated with scenes from the life of women. A vase from Apulia of about 360 B.C. contains a toilet scene, again with nuptial implications, including a standing female nude in three-quarter view who raises both arms to her long dark hair. She is very similar to our nude Anadyomene type and is therefore an indirect antecedent.³⁶

Sculptural examples of the type do not appear until the late Hellenistic period and were no doubt based on our prototype. The earliest example seems to be the charming marble group, less than life-size, from Alexandria and now in Dresden (fig. 31). It shows a headless and armless, but very sensuous, Anadyomene standing on her left leg. Her pose is completely self-assured and quiet. In contrast, a baroque and dynamic sea-monster or triton battles the waves as he turns his muscular form around to gaze at her.³⁷

35. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 201–12. Cyrene Aphrodite: LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," pl. 43, no. 455.

36. Lekanis: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (New York 1989) fig. 391. Apulian vase: G. Libertini, *Il Museo Biscari* (Milan/Rome 1930) 183, pl. 90.

37. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlung 1156. It is listed in LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 439, as from the third century. A late Hellenistic date has been proposed by other scholars: S. Lattimore, *The Marine Thiasos in Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles 1976) 60; Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues*, 110; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 202, n. 570.

Like the Knidia, the nude Anadyomene could be mocked in the late Hellenistic period. A terracotta relief in Baltimore of the late second century B.C. shows a special delight in the full display of Aphrodite's nudity by allowing the figure to stand against a relief ground that seems to fall like drapery from her back, as if she were unveiling herself (fig. 32). At her right side Eros mimics her pose by raising both arms away from his torso to hold a quiver. Even his short mantle fans out behind him like a background. The Anadyomene is caricatured in another figure, where, instead of seductive, she is obese and wears a silly smile. Other marble, bronze, and terracotta figurines have been found primarily in Egypt but also in Cyrene, Delos, Asia Minor, and South Italy, and the type remained in fashion for a long time.³⁸

By employing Krahmer's methodology in conjunction with an interpretation of the expressive meaning of the pose, we have seen that it has been thought possible to trace a steady evolution of Aphrodite statuary, beginning with the revolutionary figure of Praxiteles' Knidia in the fourth century, and continuing through the three centuries of the Hellenistic period. According to this system, the limbs of the goddess gradually unfold and open out, reflecting her decreasing humility and modesty. Her sexual freedom and mortal status inevitably increase, almost as if the goddess had longed for centuries for full humanity. Her divinity, however, still manages, it is claimed, to shine through. The nude Anadyomene marks the climax of this linear development.

The late Hellenistic phase of Greek art (roughly 150–131 B.C.) is frequently labeled Graeco-Roman. The sculpture of this period was governed by a multiplicity of styles rather than a single one. Sculptors might opt for a pronounced realism exemplified by studies in portraiture or old age. Or they might prefer a whimsical erotic "rococo" mode for such subjects as the Invitation to the Dance or satyrs frolicking with nymphs. Both these currents are viewed as strong, new, and clear evidence of the creativity and vitality of late Greek sculptors. I discuss the "rococo" in chapter 5.

A third trend has been looked on less favorably. It is characterized by sculptors, considered uninspired and without ideas of their own, who turn back to the art of the past and simply copy or perhaps revise the great works of earlier periods. Most extant statues of the nude Aphrodite are thought to belong in this third category. Many scholars simply assume

38. E.D. Reeder, ed. *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Princeton 1988) 186, no. 92. Caricature: E. Bielefeld, "Aphrodite anadomene paratheisa," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Greifswald* 1953/54, 107–10.

that after 150 B.C. there were few, if any, major new creations. Instead, sculptors who were required to meet the great demand for statues of the goddess fell to copying, mixing, and varying the Knidia, the Crouching Aphrodite, and the Medici and Capitoline Aphrodites, as well as the other types so far discussed.

Some scholars have found the mind-reading methodology as applied to statues of Aphrodite unconvincing. In their search for an originating date, they prefer to scrutinize and compare several copies of one type. In this process, they discover late stylistic elements—usually described as classicistic—that compel them to see the type as either a new creation of the late Hellenistic period or a contaminated copy of a vanished and totally unknown prototype. Assessing or dating the classicizing elements has led to a merry game of musical chairs in which the conclusions depend on what copy or copies are selected. In my opinion this is one reason the chronological margins, which I have emphasized above, are so broad and bewildering.

Regardless of any particular methodology, there seems to be a general consensus that an important break occurred around 150 B.C. in the evolving history of the female nude. But whereas this break is frequently seen as an end or climax, I see it instead as the beginning of a fresh new era, in which the creative imagination of first-rate sculptors was concentrated on a subject that now became prominent for the first time in the history of Greek art. That it had much to do with the growing dominance of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean is an important matter to which we must return.

The prevailing opinion that earlier statues of Aphrodite enjoyed a virtual renaissance in the late Hellenistic period has had a remarkable effect on our understanding of one particularly beautiful example, the Aphrodite of Melos, a securely dated work. The history of this statue makes an unusually interesting case study of the issues already emphasized.

Aphrodite of Melos

Set high on a modern base in the Louvre, this marble statue was found on the island of Melos in 1820 (fig. 33). It was discovered in a nichelike space not far from an ancient theater; it is over life-size and was made in two main sections corresponding more or less to the nude versus draped parts. A plinth, allegedly found with it, contained an inscription that supplies part of the name of a sculptor, probably an Alexandros who came from Antioch on the Maeander. The lettering of the inscription is

consistent with a date in the late Hellenistic period, somewhere between 120 and 100 B.C. This date in turn is consistent with the mixture of styles in the figure itself, which, it is said, combines Krahmer's open form with neoclassical traits.³⁹

Her left leg is lifted and strongly projecting, but the resting foot is brought back to stabilize and balance the uneven weight distribution. There is a slight torsion through her body and a pronounced outer thrust of her right hip. The drapery is securely held around her hips by the wealth of horizontal and diagonal fold patterns and by the projecting leg. Her long hair is parted in the middle and caught up in a ribbon; her face, with its small features and soft modeling, is of exceptional beauty. One can see a faint smile on her open mouth, but it is not contemptuous. The original pedestal would have been much lower than the one in the Louvre, and the figure, therefore, would have been closer to the spectator. But regardless of the degree of elevation or proximity, the goddess ultimately stands apart in sublime indifference.

Today thousands of visitors to the Louvre crowd around the statue, lost in admiration. Unaware of the history of the figure, they see it with fresh eyes as one of the most splendid works of ancient art and as one that embodies the enduring ideal of feminine beauty and yielding sensuality expected of the goddess of love. It was received with similar enthusiasm at the time of its discovery, and after its arrival in Paris in 1822, the statue soon eclipsed the popularity of the harsher Capitoline and Medici figures. Because of Lord Elgin's efforts, the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon had just arrived in London, and the French hastened to assert that in the Melian goddess they had procured a comparable masterpiece. A cast was immediately made for the Berlin Academy, Rodin praised the statue, and in 1872 Walter Pater declared it had advanced the art of sculpture "one step into the mystical Christian age."⁴⁰

In 1873 Bernoulli saw in the statue a "woman of majestic beauty" in which the elements of lovesickness and yearning usually associated with the subject were scarcely indicated. In fact her purity was comparable to the Knidia's. Because mere charm had been renounced by the sculptor, the Melian goddess had to belong to a high period of Greek art, that is, either to the Grand style of the fifth century B.C. or to the Beautiful style of the fourth as enunciated by Winckelmann. In accordance with his art histori-

39. Paris, Louvre MA 399; LIMC 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 643; cf. J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Eng. 1986) 167.

40. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 329; Pasquier, *La Vénus de Milo*, 78.

cal position, Bernoulli decided it had to stand midway and fill the chasm between the older, fully dressed Aphrodite of Pheidias times, and the younger, undressed goddess for Knidos by Praxiteles. He considered the Melian Aphrodite unique—its quality far superior to other surviving half-draped statues of the deity—and he felt it was perfectly in order that the technical mastery and idealism of the Aphrodite from Melos should be compared to the sculptures from the Parthenon. He contended that the Aphrodite from Capua (fig. 34), often considered a copy of an early work by Praxiteles, was, on the contrary, a lifeless Roman adaptation of the Melian Greek original.⁴¹

Bernoulli was aware that the statue had been found with a base carrying a late Hellenistic inscription. But shortly after the marbles had reached Paris, the base had been lost—perhaps purposely, because it did not support a classical date and the statue was to be presented to King Louis XVIII as an original work by the great Praxiteles. But did the plinth actually belong with the statue? Maybe the inscription was a later addition. In the absence of the plinth, Bernoulli concluded it was far more helpful to determine the date on the grounds of figure and drapery style. Finally he stated it was earlier than both the Knidia and the Crouching Aphrodite and was the fourth-century product of the distinguished school of Skopas.

All this thinking about the superior quality of the Aphrodite from Melos was turned completely upside down by A. Furtwängler in 1893. In the meantime the base to the statue had been retrieved in copy, and Furtwängler asserted that it did originally support the figure. Therefore the figure itself had to be accepted as from the late second century. He urged the reader to abandon preconceived notions advanced by earlier scholars and to see what the statue actually is. But reflecting his anti-Hellenistic bias, he himself was only able to see it as an inferior work of art. He declared that whereas the Aphrodite of Capua, who originally held a polished shield in which to admire her own reflection, had a genuine reason for appearing half-naked, the Melian goddess leaned nonchalantly on a pillar without purpose, displaying her charms to the spectator. Her drapery was insecurely and sensuously arranged, and her facial features, instead of being firm and well-knit in a fourth-century manner, exhibited a “certain relaxation, threatening to become almost fluid in their lack of compactness and definition.” He further argues that the often observed

41. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, 138–62. Capuan Aphrodite: Naples, National Museum 6017, LIMC 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 627.

similarities to the sculpture of the Parthenon are really symptoms of weakness rather than of strength and were intentionally incorporated by the artist, who “tried to catch a ray of inspiration” by looking at the great art of the past. There are passages in his discussion of the Aphrodite of Melos where Furtwängler conveys the distinct impression that she is tainted not only by artistic but also by ethical weakness. She “displays her charms with no object at all, and one does not see why she does not disrobe entirely.” Furthermore, he contended that since there are many more copies of the Aphrodite of Capua than of the Melian Aphrodite, the former was the one renowned in antiquity. Accordingly Furtwängler completely reversed the Aphrodite of Melos’ relation to the Capua figure. The copy now became the original, so to speak, and the original became the copy. In sum, a Roman copy, the Capuan, took both chronological and aesthetic precedence over a Greek original, the Melian. The scholarly world followed suit.⁴²

Charbonneaux thought the body of the Melian figure showed strong modeling but the face was feeble and with a blank expression, perhaps because of the lack of religious fervor in the late Hellenistic period. Brinkerhoff observed that the Aphrodite of Capua obeys a single consistent internal rhythm whereas the Melian goddess lacks inner unity. M. Robertson sees in the figure only mild merits that do not justify its extraordinary reputation, which is constantly nourished by propaganda. Neumer-Pfau asserts that the Melian example is an original Greek work rather than a later Roman copy. But like all statues of Aphrodite dating from the second half of the second century B.C., it is not a new creation but instead was modeled after the Aphrodite from Capua. She thinks it important to consider whether the drapery either creeps up or slides down an inch or two to reveal some or all of the pubic area and the buttocks. In the end she concludes that because she is half-covered with drapery, the Melian can be considered a reaction against the blatant nudity of the Anadyomene of the preceding period and, at the same time, a return to the retreating mood and withdrawing modesty of the classical Capuan. For Neumer-Pfau this indicates that woman in the late Hellenistic period recognized her dependence on men, and that though her qualities were acknowledged as never before, her full equality had not been achieved.⁴³

Kenneth Clark has been almost alone in looking without prejudice at

42. A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, 367–89.

43. J. Charbonneaux, *Die Venus von Milo* (Bremen 1959) 13–14; Brinkerhoff, *Hellenistic Statues*, 117–20; Robertson, *History*, 554; Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 218–19.

the Aphrodite of Melos primarily as a work of art rather than as an archaeological puzzle of original versus copy. The figure reminds him “of an elm tree in a field of corn.” In the equal distance between the breasts and between the breasts and navel, he acknowledges the use of geometry. Yet “when we realize that she is not of the heroic age . . . she remains one of the most splendid physical ideals of humanity, and the noblest refutation of contemporary critical cant that a work of art must express its own epoch.” Clark did not suspect that an argument could be made that the Aphrodite of Melos does indeed express its own, late Hellenistic epoch and not that of the fourth century.⁴⁴

There is much we do not understand about the Aphrodite from Melos. Did she lean on a pillar? Did she hold a shield? Was Ares with her? The two appear together on coins of Roman date. Did she hold an apple? Under such circumstances, a search for a single original is very difficult, if not misguided. It is my opinion that we should return to the old view that the Aphrodite of Capua in Naples (fig. 34) is a derivative of and therefore later than the Aphrodite of Melos. Neither in pose nor in drapery arrangement can one legitimately distinguish between them as types. Indeed a small marble variant, discovered in Kos, that is associated with the Capuan figure has been thought useful in reconstructing the Melian statue. Dating to the late second or early first century B.C., it shows Aphrodite playing with Eros; in composition and high-spiritedness, the group resembles the triad Pan, Aphrodite, and Eros in Delos.⁴⁵

Half-draped women in sculpture, whatever the pose, are quite rare any time before the late Hellenistic period. Of the many existing marble figures of a semiclothed Aphrodite, nymph, or muse, none appear to have originated before the middle of the second century B.C. Half-naked women who are seated on a rock or who stand while resting one foot on a rock have been shown to constitute a theme especially characteristic of the late Hellenistic period. Before then figures of this type may occasionally appear as early as the fourth century but only on a small scale and in terracotta.⁴⁶

44. Clark, *The Nude*, 89.

45. Coins: Bernhart, *Aphrodite auf griechischen Münzen*, nos. 161, 163. Kos variant: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 62, no. 632.

46. Semidraped figures: I include the Aphrodite of Taman (*LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 63, no. 646), which is dated roughly in the mid-second century B.C. on the basis of numismatic evidence. See G. Merker, *Hellenistic Sculpture of Rhodes*, 26–27; H.-H. v. Prittwitz and Gaffron thinks it belongs to about 120 B.C.: *Der Wandel der Aphrodite* (Bonn 1988) 71–73, 130–31. Small-scale figures: *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” pl. 57, no. 582. See also other fourth- to third-century examples of half-draped figures listed in *LIMC*: nos. 565, 694, 704. The dating is often doubtful or without context.

The timeworn argument that semidraped female figures must precede the fully nude is not relevant in the case of the Aphrodite of Melos. It was abandoned in a different context by B.S. Ridgway, who has persuasively shown that the life-size Aphrodite of Arles, a sort of companion to the Capuan statue, is not a copy of an original from the hand of the youthful Praxiteles, but perhaps was newly created for a theatrical setting in Athens in the first century B.C. I would hypothesize that the Aphrodite of Capua, found in an ancient amphitheater, is a work of the same period that was inspired by the Melian Aphrodite (found near a theater), a fresh invention of only a few decades earlier. The Aphrodite of Melos is a very great work of art, and there is every reason to consider it a leader rather than a follower.⁴⁷

Aphrodite Kallipygos (“of the Fair Buttocks”)

The statue was discovered some time in the sixteenth century, probably in the Golden House of Nero in Rome. In the later eighteenth century it was moved to Naples, where Winckelmann saw and criticized it (fig. 35). Before being sent to Naples, it was heavily restored and altered by Al-bacini. This type was frequently imitated in the eighteenth century, the people of which seemed, except for Winckelmann, to be largely untroubled by the statue’s erotic overtones. Plaster casts were sent to collectors in France, Sweden, and England.⁴⁸

Of all the statues thought to be of Hellenistic origin, this one has raised the most eyebrows. The manner in which the figure lifts her garment to reveal her body is far more provocative than other examples. Attempts were made long ago to connect this action with the goddess’ proverbial bath, and one can see how the arm movement and pulled drapery might lead one to think she is drying herself with a towel. The design is an all-around spiral one; the dress is open on one side so that one section can be drawn up with the left hand to expose the whole back below the waist, and the right hand pulls the other part away from her pubic zone. The upper body is also not obscured; one breast, including the nipple, is enticingly released from the covering, which falls off one shoulder. But the way

47. B.S. Ridgway, “The Aphrodite of Arles,” *AJA* 80 (1976) 147–54; Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 89–90. T. Hölscher’s arguments that the Victory of Brescia derived from the Capuan Aphrodite are convincing, but he offers no persuasive evidence for the existence of fourth-century or even a pre-late Hellenistic prototype for either statue: “Die Victoria von Brescia,” *AntP* 10 (1970) 69–79.

48. Naples, National Museum 6020, *LIMC* 2, s.v. “Aphrodite,” no. 765; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 316–18.

the head is set on the neck has been considered the critical feature. It is twisted quite sharply around and thus positively directs the observer to admire the woman's buttocks. One wonders how a design could be more artfully and wholly single-minded. If so inclined, it could be said that the statue is the perfect illustration of the moral degeneration predicted of the art in the Hellenistic period.

Bernoulli was not sure whether the figure was a goddess or a prostitute, but he was convinced it was much later than the fourth century because, he wrote, even if it did represent a hetaira, her actions indicated she was certainly not as naive as Phryne or other hetaira from the period of Praxiteles. Another writer, who accepts the subject as Aphrodite, tends to be shocked by the "combination of strip-tease and religious art" and figures it is the result of "the jaded sophistication of the age."⁴⁹

To counter some of the scurrilous criticism and to come, as it were, to the lady's rescue, Gösta Säföund argued that this Aphrodite, a Roman copy, was restored by C. Albacini in the eighteenth century in a way that lent it "an air of coqueterie and self-preoccupation . . . which was alien to the original composition." This was a sure signal that an attempt would be made to remove the work as far as possible from the late Hellenistic period and to put it, if at all possible, into the more respectable classical phase of Greek art. The correct pose, Säföund stated, is one in which the head is turned forward more, so that her glance would not be directed toward her buttocks. In this way he intended to redesign the figure so that the goddess could resume a classical innocence and modesty, neither of which were possible in the erroneous restoration by Albacini. The original movement of the woman can be seen, he continued, in the bronze statuette on the handle of a Locrian spatula made not too long after 300 B.C. This statuette is crude and indistinct, and the date of the spatula itself is guesswork; it hardly provides solid ground for determining the chronology of the prototype. Säföund himself cites a much more helpful parallel: the small limestone relief from Kos of late Hellenistic date, in which a dancer, probably a hetaira, takes a pose almost identical to the one in the Neapolitan figure. The drapery exposes the genitals in both, and like the statue, the relief dancer bends her whole torso as if to admire her own naked buttocks.⁵⁰

49. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, 342; quote from Robertson, *History*, 553.

50. Quote from G. Säföund, *Aphrodite Kallipygos* (Stockholm 1963) 30. Spatula: Säföund, *ibid.*, 22–29, figs. 9–11; *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 768. Cf. M. Robertson, Review of *Aphrodite Kallipygos*, by G. Säföund, *JHS* 86 (1966) 290. Relief: Säföund, *ibid.*, 42, fig. 27; *LIMC*, *ibid.*, pl. 76, no. 767.

Nevertheless Sjöflund's final conclusion is that the Aphrodite Kallipygos in Naples is a paraphrase of a bronze Greek original of about 300 B.C.—that is, at the threshold of the Hellenistic age—which was executed in marble rather late in the first century B.C. The bronze original may have stood in a sanctuary either in Magna Graecia or in the east Greek world. He thought the action could be explained by the religious prostitution known to have occurred in sanctuaries devoted to Aphrodite in such places as Corinth, possibly Locri, Eryx in Sicily, and Asia Minor. The motif of lifted drapery is a gesture of religious initiation that Sjöflund links to a possible cult statue standing in the temple of Aphrodite in Syracuse, which was dedicated, according to Athenaeus (12.554c–e), by two grateful peasant girls with fair buttocks. But that the statue in Naples reproduces the hypothetical cult image is far from certain.

Despite Sjöflund's efforts to find a religious meaning in the statue and to purify the figure's action, the rotating movement and suggestive exposure—no matter how the head is turned—may well indicate that it represents not Aphrodite at all but a dancer, courtesan, or ordinary maiden. The status of this type in antiquity seems to have been different from the other Aphrodite figures examined in this study. There are almost no ancient copies of this type, and she is the only one not used on Roman coinages. Thus in this case Bernoulli's reaction to the figure may have been right, since it is hard to argue that the statue possesses either political or religious significance. J. Pradier, a near-contemporary of Bernoulli, considered the pose just right for his marble statue of Phryne for the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London.

There is no question in Neumer-Pfau's mind that the Aphrodite Kallipygos is late Hellenistic and that it is the only new creation of the first century B.C., when Rome dominated the Greek world. Because the action is unrelated to bathing, the provocative nudity suggests that the subject could still be Aphrodite but that a hetaira may have served as the model. Neumer-Pfau conjectures that a courtesan might have erected the work as a votive monument in a sanctuary of Aphrodite. Finally, because the woman in the statue moves with utter self-certainty and disregard for her naked condition, we are allowed to believe that at least some Greek women living under Roman hegemony reached a high degree of independence.⁵¹

The uncovering of female buttocks aimed at the male spectator occurred in vase paintings of the fourth century B.C. (see, e.g., fig. 36). A

51. Neumer-Pfau, *Studien*, 237–40.

red-figure situla now in the Tampa Museum of Art shows a young nude woman in the lower zone tiptoeing away to the right. She turns and looks back while she holds a transparent veil just across her buttocks. Following her is not only a big white swan but also an old bearded man. Whether she is Aphrodite or Leda is not certain, but in either case the humor of the episode is obvious. Gems of the later third century B.C. show how artists delighted in twisting the female body so that the back is prominently exposed. However in monumental form the motif became more evocative and prevalent in the late Hellenistic period. It seems to me that there is no certain evidence to certify that the type of figure represented by the three-dimensional, life-size Aphrodite Kallipygos in Naples was created any earlier than the late Hellenistic period.⁵²

52. Vase in fig. 36: Tampa Museum 86.106 (Joseph Veach Noble Collection); *LIMC* 2, s.v. "Aphrodite," no. 1490. Gem: *LIMC*, *ibid.*, pl. 65, no. 658; for later example, the group of the Three Graces 100–50 B.C.: Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, fig. 809.

Chapter 5

Aphrodite in Context

The foregoing survey of scholarly opinion on chronology and of the archaeological evidence for the first copies leads to the general conclusion that each of the seven types of Aphrodite was a new invention originating no earlier than 150 B.C. That date should probably be lowered, since no example on any scale or in any medium can be placed with certainty before the Delos group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros of about 100 B.C., a work that survives with the name of its donor on the base. Also because of its inscription, another work with a fixed date is the Aphrodite from Melos (125–100 B.C.). It seems certain, then, that toward the end of the second century B.C., the unveiling of a woman's body—in the form of a sensuous Aphrodite—first became an unmistakably popular subject for sculpture.

Replicas of the Knidia and her companion Aphrodites have been found all over the Graeco-Roman world from the late second century B.C. through the whole imperial period. But the specific distribution of these figures is of less concern to us than their function, especially during the era when I believe they were first created. A representative sampling of the variety of ways and locations in which the goddess was displayed during the late Hellenistic and early imperial Roman periods follows.

The larger-than-life-size Aphrodite of Melos appears to be relatively unusual for the time (fig. 33). Although the statue was said to have been discovered in a nichelike space near a theater, it is impossible to be sure of its original context. A theater setting is more certain for the Arles and Capuan Aphrodites. But life-size copies in such grandiose contexts do not seem to begin in quantity until the second century A.C. For that reason I will focus for the most part on small-scale sculptures. Although one must sometimes rely on conjecture, an attempt will be made to understand what purpose these statuettes served. We will discover that we cannot write Aphrodite off as only a pretty and sexy figure or as a purely secular ornament. On the contrary, in the Graeco-Roman period Aphrodite's image was profoundly meaningful and potent. Her presence in homes, gar-

dens, and tombs suggests that she was a deeply revered goddess who was constantly needed and welcomed in intimate and private contexts.¹

Private Houses

In chapter 3 we learned that Dionysios, son of Zeno, commissioned the group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros to be set up in the house of the Poseidoniastes at Delos in about 100 B.C. (figs. 12 and 13). On the one hand, the choice of subject seems to have served his immediate personal fancy, and on the other, the sculpture was thought fitting for a dedication to the divine power of Aphrodite on behalf of his faraway children. To a certain extent the dedication was private, since the room where it was installed was residential and removed from the court and official chapels of the rest of the house. Yet no doubt the guest room was also occupied at different times by other members of the Establishment who stayed overnight as required by their commercial interests. Dionysios could thus enhance his prestige by donating a costly sculptured group that was both decorative and religious, as well as appropriate, it would seem, to the function of the guest room in a clubhouse. Even if the sculpture may be associated with a specific Berytian cult, Aphrodite's pseudo-Knidia gesture and the erotic interplay among the three participants suggest that Dionysios—and his friends in the Establishment—were also sophisticated and knowledgeable patrons who relished the humorous play on the Aphrodite of Knidos. Possibly they had seen or knew of the work signed by Praxiteles in the House of Hermes, which will be discussed shortly.

In addition to the marble group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros, the goddess of sex was honored at least three more times in the Establishment. A nymph disrobed by a satyr (fig. 14) was found broken in the cistern under the peristyle court. This is a group in which the back view of the female body is framed and emphasized. Also discovered in the cistern was

1. The occurrence of Aphrodite/Venus statuary in later imperial times has been dealt with elsewhere. On the subject in general: C.C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Ann Arbor 1977); P. Zanker, "Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit," *Le Classicisme à Rome, EntrHardt* 25 (1978) 283–314; B.S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor 1984); J.-P. Niemeier, *Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus* (Bonn 1985); J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana*. Copies of the Knidia and Crouching, Anadyomene, and Capitoline types found in Roman baths are cataloged by H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenlagen* (Berlin 1981); also see M. Marvin, "Free-standing Sculpture from the Baths of Caracalla," *AJA* 87 (1983) 347–84; R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturen-Ausstattung römischen Villen in Italien* (Mainz 1988).

a smaller-than-life-size Aphrodite of the Arles type. Since the back of each was unfinished, it is likely that the two sculptures stood against a wall, perhaps even in the same large room with the marble group. A terracotta group representing a seated Aphrodite possibly accompanied by Eros was another find displaced from its original setting in the Establishment. That together these four sculptures may have formed a thematic program is an interesting possibility, but an unlikely one for the late Hellenistic houses of Delos.²

Cult images of the presiding deities were erected in the chapels, and there were at least twelve honorary portrait statues of both Greeks and Romans in the house of the Poseidoniastes. Their bases, sometimes inscribed, survive. Most of the portraits were found in the first hall after entry, situated in front of either the columns leading to the peristyle court or those leading to the sanctuary. A triple Hekate herm, Erotes, draped women, a comic actor, a seated Herakles, Silenus, and herms were installed in other rooms. The quantity and variety of the subject matter of sculptured works in this large Delian house is notable. The sculptures reveal that the goddess of sex and her assistant Eros are considered appropriate in an environment in which major cults, theater, Dionysiac themes, and dignified portraits are incorporated.

The mixed company that Aphrodite keeps in the Establishment of the Poseidoniastes is not atypical. The sculptural decoration of certain purely domestic dwellings on Delos can provide a further glimpse into the context and function of the Aphrodite types surveyed in this book.

The private houses in the theater section of Delos were inhabited by well-to-do owners and were generally of good size, with a peristyle court surrounded by rooms, some larger and more important than others. Sometimes there was a second floor. Sculptural decoration contributed to the overall sumptuous effect. Sculptures usually stood on bases, were smaller than life-size, and could be moved around to stand in front of a wall or column or in a niche. There were mosaics with emblemata designs on floors and painted decorations on walls. The houses were built in the late second and early first century B.C. and were destroyed at the latest in 69 B.C.

2. Nymph and satyr: Delos Museum 4156. Arles type: Delos Museum 4157. On the numerous sculptures, including those representing Aphrodite and Eros, found in the Establishment: J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris 1969) 225–46, 386–96; V.J. Harward, *Greek Domestic Sculpture and the Origins of Private Art Patronage* (Diss. Harvard University 1982) 115–18; M. Kreeb, *Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Ausstattung delische Privathäuser* (Chicago 1988) 21–29; 102–19.

The House of Hermes in the theater district of Delos was particularly rich in finds, especially of marble statuettes. There were figures of Artemis, Tyche, a nymph, and several herms, and a group containing a satyr. Occupying a very privileged position in the house was a statue, perhaps life-size, that stood on a base signed by Praxiteles. From the entrance corridor, it could be seen at a slight angle through the peristyle court, standing against a wall of the main room. Although the statue is lost, it is tempting to think it represented a figure of Aphrodite transported to this private house from its original site, as if the owners were starting their own art collection. In the same room another figure of the goddess may have been installed, since her name is inscribed on a base found there. Several herms, Artemis, a nymph, a satyr, and other sculpture fragments were found in the area of the peristyle. More marble statuettes, including one of Herakles, were found on the upper story. Also belonging to the upper rooms was an interesting torso in Parian marble of yet another Aphrodite, a variant of the Medici or Capitoline type. The figure is slender, with a soft generalized surface; her right arm would have crossed over her body to hold a piece of drapery that reaches only to her upper thighs. The left arm was lowered at least to the elbow and then bent over her breasts.³

From another house (VI,O) in the theater quarter at Delos, a statuette of Aphrodite Anadyomene was discovered in the main living room along with a base, perhaps for a Sandalbinder.⁴ Judging by the large number of both types that have been found, small-scale marble versions of both the Knidia and the Crouching Aphrodite were often used in domestic contexts in Delos. No two of either type are exactly alike.

Besides marble statuettes, Delos has also yielded terracotta figurines portraying the types of Aphrodite that concern this study. Finds made early in this century, published by A. Laumonier, are especially revealing because they show that there was no rigorous adherence to a single model on the part of the Delian coroplasts. Two coroplasts' workshops were excavated, and each contained an example of the Sandalbinder, certainly the most favored type on the island. One workshop was attached to a private house (VI,B) in the theater district, and the Aphrodite unbinding her sandal was found along with other figurines, including seated women; Egyptian types, such as Harpocrates and Isis; heads of children; and animals. The second workshop was situated between the Portico of Antigone and the Agora of the Italians. Although in business side by side at the

3. Sculpture from House of Hermes: Kreeb, *ibid.*, 36–40, 200–215. For Medici type: Marcadé, *ibid.*, pl. 45, A631.

4. Sculpture from House VI,O: Kreeb, *ibid.*, 15–17, 263–65.

same time, each coroplast worked quite independently in interpreting and repeating the Sandalbinder type. Although the weight is on the right leg in each case, the figurine from one atelier has stout and heavy proportions; from the other shop they are slender, almost delicate. The heads are attached at very different angles, and although both coiffures are full and elaborate, the hair is wound and bound in distinctive manners. The fragment of another Sandalbinder was found in which the weight is on the left leg. Thus the coroplasts in Delos seem to have carried in their minds only a quite general idea of the Sandalbinder type. Their shops presumably were open each day to customers, and residents of the island could walk to one not too far from their homes and purchase their choice.⁵

The private provenance of the Aphrodite types in both marble and terracotta discovered on Delos raises the question of their function. That they were entirely secular or ornamental and without religious meaning is unlikely. We might recall once again that, according to the inscription, Dionysios dedicated to his ancestral gods the group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros in the house of the Poseidoniastes. Thus his gift was a clearly devout one. To paraphrase Laumonier, the decorative component as opposed to the religious function of these Delian objects might be differently quantified according to the degree of culture of the owner, but even in this late Hellenistic period, which was one of skepticism, neither one nor the other can be excluded.⁶

Priene in Ionia on the coast of Asia Minor was in many ways a model Hellenistic city. It was excavated by German archaeologists in the late nineteenth century. Lined up in the neat regularity of the Hippodamian street plan, most houses were more modest than those of Delos. One impressive dwelling owned by a patrician citizen was no. 33 on Theater Street. It was enlarged in the late Hellenistic period to include two open courts, one with a marble peristyle. Painted walls and stuccoed friezes were also revealed during the excavations. The sculptural finds in the expanded section of the house were almost spectacularly plentiful. In addition to a statuette of the nude Dionysos in marble, Aphrodite was represented both in marble and terracotta. A half-draped Anadyomene was carved of marble, and another marble of the goddess showed her half-draped and leaning on a pillar. Erotes fragments, at least seven fragments

5. A. Laumonier, *Exploration archéologique de Délos XXIII, Les Figurines de Terre Cuite* (Paris 1956) 156–58; Sandalbinder: Laumonier, *ibid.*, 161, no. 485. For a recent overview of terracotta figurines including function: J.P. Uhlenbrock, *The Coroplast's Art: Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic Period* (New Rochelle 1990).

6. Laumonier, *ibid.*, 11.

of other Aphrodites, herms, satyrs, a negro removing a thorn from his foot, and a draped woman were found together with a Sandalbinder, all of terracotta.⁷

Terracotta figurines recently excavated by Americans at Morgantina in Sicily and reported by M. Bell III indicate that our Aphrodite types were popular for home consumption in the west as well as in the east. A variant of a Sandalbinder (Bell no. 231) and an Anadyomene (Bell no. 232) were found in one room of a house not far from the city center. In the same room were found a relief representing a languidly posed reclining woman, pottery shards, and coins of the last quarter of the first century B.C. A more typical Anadyomene (Bell no. 233) was discovered in a late Hellenistic fill in a residential area. But for our purposes the most intriguing find was the room in which was discovered a Crouching Aphrodite wringing out her hair (Bell no. 236). The room was just off the peristyle of the house; it also contained the upper part of a late Hellenistic terracotta depicting Persephone holding a torch, and other sculptured fragments, including one of an Eros. In the same room, moreover, a section of a round altar was recovered. The presence of the altar has suggested to the Americans that the room might have functioned as a cult place for the house owners. Within this religious context, nude figurines of Aphrodite were apparently not considered incongruous. Indeed she may have shared in the domestic cult.⁸

Venus/Aphrodite was the most popular deity at Pompeii. The plan and furnishings of the Casa di Marco Lucrezio, one of the houses destroyed in the first century A.D. at Pompeii, have been studied by E.J. Dwyer. The spacious house belonged to a member of the Roman aristocracy and was typical in its arrangement of the atrium and a peristyled garden on an axis. The house was vandalized in antiquity, and some of the sculptural decoration is lost, but it can be estimated that Dionysiac subjects were prominent in both domestic areas. Herms, animals, and depictions of fauns were found in the garden, and so was a "rococo" group in white marble depicting a satyr pulling a thorn from the foot of Pan. Near the kitchen, in a room that was small and much more private, several terracotta statuettes of male and female subjects were discovered, along with

7. T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin 1904) 285–300, 335–76; M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene* (Berlin 1964) 98–103.

8. For sculptural decoration in Roman private houses: E. Bartman, "Sculptural Collecting and Display in the Private Realm," in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere*, ed. E.K. Gazda (Ann Arbor 1991) 71–88. Morgantina: Bell, *The Terracottas*.

a few bottles, vases, and lamps. We can assume that the small-scale figures could be moved around, maybe like the bottles, from one shelf or one room to another. The figurines in this case are coarsely made, but whoever worked in these back rooms was up-to-date on current fashions. For among the terracottas is a bona fide Aphrodite Anadyomene standing on her right leg and raising both hands to wring out her hair. At her left is an ithyphallic herm with a child's head, perhaps that of Eros. A stone altar was also discovered in the same area, so again it is difficult to separate the secular from the sacred. Indeed a half-draped marble statuette of Venus from the House of the Ephebe seems to have played some cultic role, because it was found in the cabinet of a domestic shrine or *lararium*.⁹

Gardens and Fountains

W.F. Jashemski has stressed the important role played by the goddess as the special protector of gardens in Pompeii. In fact Aphrodite appears there almost exclusively. Every one of our types—except, again, the *Kalipygos*—has been found in this early Roman city. A characteristic example includes a Parian marble figure of the Sandalbinder that was discovered in a shrinelike structure in a garden context. The figure is quite large and with the color preserved. Another of the same type in alabaster shows the goddess wearing a gold-painted bikini and leaning on a statuette of Priapus, with Eros at her feet. Originally the group was set up on a table in an atrium that was directly opposite a painting of the goddess on the enclosing wall of the garden. The whole area was sacred to her.¹⁰

The marble statuette of Aphrodite Anadyomene from Benghazi may have been placed in a garden setting. The figure is dated in the late second century B.C. and is now in the University Museum in Philadelphia (fig. 30). She has been modeled only as far as the upper thighs, as if she were to be lowered into a pool of water, perhaps an allusion to her marine birth. The suggestion has been made that this Aphrodite type might sometimes have been placed as a sacred figure in a Greek sanctuary or perhaps an agora. But it is also possible to imagine her in a private peristyle garden in Pompeii or Herculaneum when, under Augustus, water became readily available via aqueduct for the first time. It was in such lush settings that

9. E.J. Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture: A Study of Five Pompeian Houses and Their Contents* (Rome 1982) chap. 1. Venus: Dwyer, *ibid.*, pl. 50, fig. 202.

10. W.M.F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii* (New Rochelle 1979) chap. 5, figs. 468, 200. On Greek statues in the gardens of Pompeii: E.M. Moorman, *La Pittura parietale romana come fonte di conoscenza per la scultura antica* (Assen/Maastricht 1988) 49–60.

Aphrodite's generous nature belonged. Indeed her generosity seems to grant her entry almost everywhere in the domestic world. We cannot distinguish whether the statuettes' function was decorative or religious.¹¹

Tombs

Terracotta versions of the Aphrodite types selected for this study have been found in plentiful quantities not only in houses but also in tombs. In the 1880s about five thousand graves were dug at Myrina in Asia Minor. They represented burials from the third century B.C. through the first century A.C., when the city was destroyed by earthquake. Copies of the Knidia by Praxiteles are very numerous, but none are earlier than the late second century B.C. Many bear the signature of the coroplast Diphilos of about A.D. 20–70. His workshop seems to have specialized in Aphrodite types, for in addition to the Knidia, both half-draped and nude Anadyomenes were signed by him. The basic model is always recognizable, yet the figurines betray Diphilos' casual attitude toward the sculptural types and the freedom with which he altered and rearranged the design. The Knidia's pose, although always contrapposto, seems never to be the same in detail: the weight leg can be reversed, the head rotated, and the proportions stout or slender. Her hair may be done up in a manner currently fashionable with the empress in Rome. But perhaps the most ingenuity was applied to the drapery, which, besides falling over the hydria, can be looped and trailed around her back and held over her genitalia. The Anadyomenes from Diphilos' atelier and from other workshops at Myrina are also creatively composed: a dolphin often manages to lay his tail over Aphrodite's "modesty." Crouching Aphrodites and Sandalbinders as well as the Medici/Capitoline types by anonymous craftsmen have been found in copious quantities in the tombs of Myrina.¹²

The ubiquity of Aphrodite figurines in tombs in the late Hellenistic period is not easily explained. One inevitably thinks back to the large number of terracottas of draped women that have been found in the early

11. Comparable to the Benghazi Aphrodite is a Crouching Aphrodite of Roman imperial date found at Antioch. The goddess kneels against a crude rock on which a dolphin perches with its tail up. His mouth is open to emit water, so it is clear that she was a fountain figure. For this figure and other possible garden sculpture: D.K. Hill, "Some Sculpture from Roman Domestic Gardens," *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 7, 1979, *Ancient Roman Gardens*, ed. W.F. Jashemski and E.B. Macdougall (Washington, D.C. 1981) 81–94; B.S. Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," 16.

12. Mollard-Besques, *Myrina*, 15–21; D. Burr, *Terra-Cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Vienna 1934).

Hellenistic graves at Tanagra.¹³ Although some of those carried divine or semidivine attributes, many more seem to have been simply beloved personal possessions without religious import. At both Tanagra and Myrina the archaeological evidence is insufficient to conclude that the figurines were placed primarily in the graves of women. But the nude figurines found at Myrina unequivocally represent the divine Aphrodite. As replicas, however modest, of famous works of art, they were probably at one time household possessions that suggested the social position and aspirations of the owner. These are now laid beside the deceased as a recognition of their place in society, as the gift of a friend, or perhaps as a consoling accompaniment in the afterlife. But the religious connotations were not likely to have been forgotten, and the donor of the figurine might hope that the regenerative powers of Aphrodite could be conferred on the dead man, woman, or child.

The “Rococo” Style of the Late Hellenistic Period

In 1921 Wilhelm Klein delineated a “rococo” versus a “baroque” style in later Greek art. He borrowed the term *rococo*, which has been used to refer to the decorative arts under the French king Louis XV (1715–74) and to the style that succeeded the baroque in European art of the seventeenth century. He asserted that an ancient baroque style was revealed in the sculpture from Pergamon from the third century until about 150 B.C. As early as 175 B.C. there were signs that this was giving way to a rococo phase that was also born in Asia Minor and that lasted until approximately 25 B.C.¹⁴

To Klein ancient baroque is monumental, heroic, primarily mythic in subject, and powerful in movement and expression. Ancient rococo tends to be smaller in scale, decorative, and erotic, favoring musical-literary and bacchic themes; it is lighthearted, delicate, sometimes sad, sometimes comic, and private rather than public in function. Playful children, dancers, old people, and animals are prevalent. But women and Dionysiac themes are also extremely important subject categories. To illustrate the change from baroque to rococo, Klein compared the Crouching Aphrodite type (fig. 23) with what he supposed was one of its later variations. In the first, which he believed was the work of Doidalsas of the early third century B.C.,

13. On Tanagra: R.A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (London 1987) 65–67; Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, intro.

14. W. Klein, *Vom antiken Rokoko* (Vienna 1921).

he saw a luxuriant body, in which strong heavy limbs project and support the torso, a body in short akin to a nude by Rubens. The second figure turns toward the front and lowers her knee further into a position of quiet rest; her torso is much more slender and her breasts high and small. In short she displays a type of graceful beauty idealized by the eighteenth century. Characteristics of this kind are present in the figure of the Rhodian type of Crouching Aphrodite (fig. 24). In addition, Klein pointed out that ancient rococo artists were particularly inventive in composing group sculptures in the round, which were copied profusely in later periods.

At the time Klein wrote, eighteenth-century European art, especially its association with a prerevolutionary and decadent French court, was still considered by many to be frivolous, superficial, and effeminate. These pejorative attitudes sometimes seem to be subtly reflected in Klein's study. While he states that the rococo arose in Asia Minor, that is, right in baroque territory, he thought it flourished particularly in Alexandria, a Hellenistic city that could not continue to build the huge edifices of Pharaonic times. Instead Alexandria turned to the small and charming, to glittering festivals, and to the cult of Adonis, the lover of Aphrodite, both of whom were promoted by Ptolemaic queens. He observes that because Alexandria was saturated with Praxitelean influence ever since the late fourth century, it was resistant to the strong forces inherent in the baroque.

While the term *baroque* continues to be an acceptable designation for the flamboyant style of Pergamene and related works of the second century B.C., the existence of a discrete rococo stylistic phase in Hellenistic art has been seriously doubted ever since Klein's publication. M. Bieber saw rococo not as a separate style or period but rather as a continuous tradition: "there is no doubt that in ancient art this rococo trend began in the third century, and lasted through all the following periods, including the Roman." J.J. Pollitt, recognizing that so-called Hellenistic rococo has tended to become a kind of scholar's junk bin, concludes that there are

datable works of a rococo character in Hellenistic art. Whether one can legitimately go farther than this and say that there was a definable rococo phase in Hellenistic art is doubtful. There are simply not enough datable works. If there was such a phase, however, it is most likely to have occurred . . . in the second half of the second century B.C.¹⁵

15. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 136; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 127, 141.

My own view is that Klein was at least correct in identifying subjects new to group sculptures in the round that began to emerge in the second century B.C. These groups were only slightly less than life-size and were copied widely. Because of their scale and ingenious designs, they are major achievements and a clear indication that a new interest had taken hold in the history of Greek art. Klein was also correct in stating that the female nude became a favorite subject in the so-called rococo period. However I differ with him by thinking that this new direction begins to emerge not in about 175 B.C. but toward the end of the second century B.C. and that it was not, as Klein proposed, a reaction against the ponderous baroque of royal Pergamon of the first half of the second century. It was rather a response to the tastes of a new kind of patron.

The new appreciation for the erotic implications of the naked body that becomes apparent in the late Hellenistic period is visible not only in statues of Aphrodite but also in many works in the so-called rococo style. An excellent example already familiar to us is the Delian group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros discussed at length in chapter 3 (fig. 12). Carved around 100 B.C., it is a unique composition as a whole, yet the individual figures are not without parallels. Aphrodite makes fun of the Knidia's gesture, and Pan, with his long horns, muscular male torso, and hairy legs, is almost identical with the Pan in a group now in Naples and perhaps by Heliodoros, a sculptor of the late second century B.C., which depicts the goat god teaching a shepherd boy how to play the pipes (fig. 37). The two are seated side by side, presenting a frontal composition in which the narrative content is instantly readable. Pan looks with high hopes into the face of the nude youth, as in the Delian group he looks into the smiling countenance of Aphrodite; and he paws both of them. His amorous intentions are clear, and so is the gentle resistance of his adversary. The overall theme of the Naples group, in which music is the prelude to lovemaking, is familiar in the poetry of Theokritos of the third century B.C. The tradition continues in the verses of Meleager (ca. 100 B.C.) and seems now, for the first time, to be accompanied by sculptural groups in the round. Meleager can summon the melodies of Pan to sweeten the course of love (7.196), and one of his epigrams has Pan sorrowing over the loss of Daphnis (7.535).¹⁶

16. Naples, National Museum 6329; *LIMC* 3, s.v. "Daphnis," no. 8a (G. Berger-Doer). Heliodorus is mentioned by Pliny as executing a group of Pan and Olympos set up in Rome (*NH* 36.35), but the identity of the shepherd is uncertain. Cf. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 131. For a recent study of these rococo groups: K. Kell, *Formuntersuchungen zu spät- und nachhellenistischen Gruppen* (Saarbrucker 1988). For the epigrams: *Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library 1917) vol. 2, 111, no. 196; 289, no. 535.

But perhaps the playfulness and overt sexuality of the sculptured pair are best paralleled in the minor psychological and erotic dramas painted on the walls of Pompeian houses. A portico in the city of Rome housed a bazaar where a variety of wares, such as vases, gems, silver cups, and even slaves, were sold. Apparently it was a place for merchants to look at and purchase such works of art as this last group of Pan and a shepherd boy or a variant (Pliny *NH* 36.29). The goat god performs again in another group, now in the Vatican Museum, copied probably from a late second century B.C. original. Pan is seated strategically between the legs of a satyr while he removes a thorn from the latter's foot. The well-known composition reconstructed by Klein entitled "Invitation to the Dance" comprises a flirtatious nymph and satyr. As in the preceding groups, the erotic implications are clear. The dating of the original group is controversial, but a late second-century date at the earliest seems to me the most probable.¹⁷

Other groups of an amorous nature are more boisterous, yet the protagonists are evenly matched so the effect remains amusing. In one of these, in the Capitoline Museum, a naked nymph has been brought almost to her knees as she tries to free herself from the grip of a lecherous satyr. She has made him scream by pulling his hair. Actually the nymph is a slender version of one of our seven types, the Crouching Aphrodite; and a silver dish depicting a similar group suggests the satyr has caught the nymph at her bath. The mischievous attention to the woman's nude body as an object for sexual sport is a distinctive aspect of this class of late Hellenistic sculptures. This is emphatically the case in a group now in Dresden in which Hermaphrodite has been snared between the legs of a satyr (fig. 38). It is a wrestling match that the satyr is on the verge of losing. Hermaphrodite, whose stretched-out torso can be seen to good advantage from both the front and the back, shoves him away and has a firm hold on his foot. The two figures are cleverly and suggestively interlaced to exploit the heterosexual/homoerotic theme.¹⁸

Similar in style and subject to these sculptures is the fragmentary group found in the Establishment of the Poseidoniastes at Delos (fig. 14). It was

17. Erotic murals: M. Grant, *Eros in Pompeii* (New York 1975). Pan and satyr in the Vatican: Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 143. "Invitation to the Dance": Pollitt, *ibid.*, fig. 139. The numerous problems concerning the composition and dating of this second group are summarized by Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 321–24.

18. Nymph and satyr: Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 141. Silver dish: Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 319. Hermaphrodite and satyr: Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 155, *LIMC* 5, s.v. "Hermaphroditos," no. 63d (A. Ajootian).

discovered in a cistern, but because of the reduced scale and subject, Picard thought it belonged in the private apartments or in the guest room along with the triad Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros. The group is made of white marble and represents a nymph whose clothes are being pulled from her body by a male hand that is grasping the edge of the drapery at the right. The theme in general is known in other works that suggest that the male might be either a satyr or Pan. But this group from Delos has no duplicate known to me. The nymph is almost totally nude; her himation has been drawn away so that the viewer can feast his eyes on her back and buttocks. The remaining drapery frames her nudity, which is made particularly enticing by the sinuosity of her posture. Apparently her right arm was extended to push the intruder away; her left was used to hold her garment in place over her pubic area—a gesture borrowed of course from the Aphrodite of the other group in the guest room. It almost seems as if the Knidia was parodied twice in the same building. But here the gesture is inferred rather than made visible, because the nymph, who is incompletely carved on the front of her body, was meant to be seen from the back only. Because of the group's similarity in overall mood and motif to the triad, and because the house of the Poseidoniastes was not used after its destruction by pirates in 69 B.C., we can deduce that this nymph and satyr pair was sculpted around 100 B.C.¹⁹

W. Klein was right in noting the common features of these several sculptures. The enjoyment in the display of the nude body, especially of women, is one of the most prominent characteristics of the series. There is a delight in gender combinations; heterosexual relations, homoeroticism, and bestiality are all included as amorously desirable. Intricate compositions involving both male and female figures sometimes afford multiple views, making their sexuality still more compelling. There can be strong movement, as in the struggling pairs (fig. 38), or the figures can take relaxed, suggestive postures (fig. 37). But in each case an air of intimacy and interaction, even tension, increases the erotic implications. Aphrodite and Dionysos, the two deities of life's pleasures, are celebrated by these rococo themes. Like the group from Delos of Pan, Eros, and Aphrodite, they have narrative interest and easily engage the spectator. But they can hardly be equated with the rococo art of the eighteenth century, because as a class these groups are not especially elegant, well-mannered, frivolous, or effeminate; rather they are earthy, direct, certainly

19. Near parallels: S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*² (Paris 1906) vol. 1, 412.

humorous, and, in the final analysis, primarily about sex. Unlike the art of the eighteenth century, moreover, which was often commissioned by and for women, these groups reflect quite uncomplicated masculine tastes. However while they are often considered decorative genre, they may have had a more serious religious or mythological function, and perhaps they were originally placed in a sanctuary.²⁰

While Klein was accurate in recognizing the innovative nature of these sculptural groups that began to appear in the late second century B.C., he was less understanding of their stylistic character. The “rococo” subjects so far cited conform on the whole not to a rococo style but to a baroque style identified with European art of the seventeenth century. There may be a deliberate echoing of the earlier Praxiteles’ Knidia in the Delian Aphrodite, but the rich modeling of her fleshy body and that of Pan also—even their nonplanimetric composition—more strongly draw on the dynamic movement and heavy corporeality customarily associated with the art of Pergamon, which never died out in the course of the Hellenistic period or even later. In a truly baroque manner, one may move completely around a group, as one can around the battling pair of Hermaphrodite and satyr (fig. 38). Yet other groups, for instance the Pan and shepherd boy in Naples (fig. 37), are composed according to a restricted frontal point of view. Whether the composition is three-dimensionally or unifacially conceived, it is usually determined by the erotic content. There was no one period style in late Hellenistic times. Artists were versatile, free, and able to work in just about any fashion of their own or earlier periods.

For example, rather than an explosive eroticism, a morally uplifting effect was sought by some art patrons of the late second and first centuries B.C. They preferred slow motion rather than vigorous action, and good thinking rather than overt sexuality in narrative groups. The drama now, however, is quieter. The work of Pasiteles, a scholar and critic as well as a sculptor, and a Greek born in South Italy, is of this kind. His prize pupil Stephanos and his pupil Menelaos, who were employed in Rome during the first century B.C. and first century A.C., continued to work in this vein. They constructed conversing rather than combative pairs, and their severe and spare figures seem to require that the spectator be serious and reflective. The art of the past offered appropriate suggestions as to stance and drapery arrangements, and style mixtures were frequent. One figure in an early fifth-century style and a second in a late fifth-century style may be

20. Cf. A. Ajootian, “Wise Silenos,” *AJA* 95 (1991) 295–96; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 130–31.

combined in a most inventive and unclassical way. The many surviving copies of the "Stephanos Youth," for instance, can on occasion lend themselves to ingenious pairings with other youths or maidens in which the interrelationships of the two imply mysterious whisperings and shared thoughts—perhaps an example is the statue group of Orestes and his sister Electra in the National Museum in Naples (fig. 39). The male figure, or the so-called "Stephanos Youth," stands in a contrapposto pose that is rather more languid than that of the Doryphoros. In groups like this the nudity is restricted to the male figure and is presumably intended to be heroic and aspiring rather than carnal. The contrast of the hard surfaces and contained contour with the affected gentility of the mood introduces a certain piquancy. Erika Simon believes that many of these neoclassical combinations have been wrongly understood, and that they are not, as is sometimes thought, vaguely related groups but valid mythological pairs drawn from classical models and literary sources.²¹

Thus in the monumental sculpture of the late Hellenistic period, at least two general iconographical trends can be discerned. For want of a better term, a "rococo" trend is one, favoring the erotic, evocative, and amusing, the very qualities outlined by Klein's study. The other is classicistic, decorous, and "ennobling," and it is epitomized in the work of Pasiteles and his school. The classicism is also revealed in contemporary art theory. In the first century B.C., high-minded moral views expressed by Quintilian and Cicero and also apparently by Pasiteles became prominent—hence the superiority that they claim for Pheidias and Polykleitos. The light tone and sensuality associated with rococo groups, in which Klein saw the influence of Praxiteles, and which is superbly reflected in the erotic poetry of late Hellenistic and early Roman times, is the reverse side of the same phenomenon.²²

Latin Poetry

The rather sudden popularity of the nude figure of Aphrodite as a subject for art in the Graeco-Roman period must be understood against a still wider cultural background. By examining contemporary trends in the poetic arts, we can indeed further illuminate this novel sculptural development.

21. Orestes and Electra: Naples, National Museum 6006; E. Simon, "Kriterien zur Deutung 'Pasitelischer' Gruppen," *JdI* 102 (1987) 291–304.

22. On contemporary art theory: F. Preisshofen, "Kunsttheorie und Kunstbetrachtung," *Le Classicisme à Rome, EntrHardt* 25 (Geneva 1978) 263–82.

The generative power of the goddess of sex is nowhere more forcefully declared than in Lucretius' hymn to Venus that introduces his *de Rerum Natura* (55 B.C.). To this Latin poet, the earth, the sea, the sun, and the wind obey her call; because of Venus all animals and birds are stirred with passion; every flower seeks her light. She is virtually everywhere, and without her nothing joyous and beautiful can be created.

Even though Lucretius describes the goddess as a great force of nature who controls everything, she is nevertheless to him a woman whom he wants as a muse and partner. But she is also a woman with a body who can seduce and envelop Mars, the god of war. Further, in line with the philosophy of Epicurus, Lucretius believed that sense perception is the source of truth and knowledge, and therefore that images that are seen are accurate reflections of actual objects. To him all women are Venuses because their bodies can emit enticing visions (4.1058–1120). Courtesans, he felt, are by far the most dangerous in this respect because they are so glamorous. The images retained in the memory might be living women, but could they not also be sculptures, such as those we have studied?²³

In the description and awareness of their lovers' naked bodies, other Latin poets of the late republican and early imperial periods seem to provide still closer literary analogues to Aphrodite statues. Perhaps these poets, all men, had the sculpted nude figures in mind, as if they were familiar features of the landscape and could be imagined as visual incarnations of their mistresses. Indeed they write during the period when, I believe, the various types of female nude were being invented and widely distributed. For our purposes the poetry of Ovid is particularly pertinent.

As often as eight times, Ovid (43 B.C.–ca. A.D. 17) either specifically mentions or alludes to real, as opposed to imagined, works of art that represent Aphrodite/Venus. It is not surprising that in his poetry, which is vitally concerned with the nature of human love, no other single deity depicted in art receives as much attention. The majority of his references seem to refer to Apelles' painted Anadyomene, no doubt because Augustus had recently brought the work to Rome from Kos, and because of the Julian claim of descent from the goddess. The artist Apelles is sometimes specified: "If Koan Apelles had never painted Aphrodite, she would still be lying hid in the sea's depth." Ovid also conjures up "Venus herself, as oft as she lays aside her robes, half stooping covers with her left hand her

23. On Epicureanism and images in Lucretius: R.D. Brown, *Lucretius on Love and Sex* (Leiden 1987) esp. 22–28, 125.

modesty.” In this example, he could be describing the action of such a figure-type as the Medici Aphrodite.²⁴

But Ovid’s preoccupation with a woman’s naked body and, as a corollary, the obligatory removal of her clothes suggests that female nudity had become by then a subject of special interest. This is all the more evidenced by a certain tension between occasions when Ovid may prefer that modesty be discarded and other times when he suggests that normally it should be preserved by a covering garment. One poem tells how Venus screened her body with myrtle when she was spied on by satyrs and how she admonished her maids to do the same. Ovid embroiders and lingers on this kind of erotic incident where nudity as such is prominent and crucial. We saw in chapter 1 that Homer and Xenophon hardly bother to mention it, and they are never as descriptive.²⁵

No poem by Ovid better illustrates his delight in viewing, and his freedom in describing, the body of a nude woman than *Amores* 1.5. The woman is Corinna, his mistress, with whom he is deeply in love. He looks at her as if she were an object or a work of art, yet one composed of real flesh and blood. The entire poem follows:

It was sultry, and the day had passed its middle hour. I laid my limbs to rest on the middle of the bed. One shutter of my window was open, the other closed—the kind of light that woods generally tend to have, the kind of twilight that faintly glows when the sun departs or when night has gone but the day not yet risen. This is the light to offer to shy girls, in which their timid modesty may hope to find a hiding-place.

Look! Corinna comes, dressed in an unbelted tunic, with her parted hair covering her fair neck, just as lovely Semiramis looked (they say) when going to her bedroom and Lais loved by many men. I tore off her tunic; being thin it did not spoil things much, but even so she struggled to cover herself with it. But, since she was struggling like one who had no will to conquer, she was conquered without difficulty by self-betrayal.

As she stood before my eyes with her clothing put aside, in her whole body there was nowhere a blemish. What shoulders, what arms I saw and touched! How fit for caresses her beautiful breasts!

24. The works of art possibly cited by Ovid were collected by H. Bartholomé, *Ovid und die antike Kunst* (Leipzig 1935). Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J.H. Mozley (Loeb Classical Library 1929): *Art of Love* 3.401; 11.613–14.

25. Ovid, *ibid.*, *Art of Love* 1.31–34, 2.583–85, 613–14; *Fasti* 4.133–50.

How flat the stomach beneath a well-formed bosom! How long and fine her flank! How youthful her thigh! What should I relate her charms one by one? I saw nothing not worthy of praise, and I clasped her naked as she was, close to my body.

Who does not know the rest? Tired we both relaxed. May my middays often be so successful!²⁶

Much in this scene concerns us. The poet is aware that the light in the room must be faint enough to suit Corinna's modesty, even though she arrives ready, unbelted, and with her hair down. Ovid here and in other poems has a fixation on the erotic implications of disordered hair, which may be one of the reasons he so admired the Anadyomene. We might recall also that the courtesan Phryne, according to Athenaeus, let her hair down at Eleusis. Corinna puts up a struggle as he tears off her tunic, but the struggle is faint, and no more serious than when Pan tries to push Aphrodite's hand away from her body in the Delos group (fig. 12). Naked, finally, Corinna's shape is incomparable, and the poet itemizes the exposed beauty that he can see with his eyes as she stands before him. Ovid probably knew the epigram of the late Hellenistic poet Philodemus of Gadara (ca. 110–30 B.C.), who came to Italy not long before the middle of the first century. His short poem is more impersonal. He briefly and rhetorically praises the cold beauty of his loved one's naked body, the parts of which are simply listed one after the other without emphasis and without context. In Ovid's poem, however, the concreteness of the interior setting, the romantic effects of light and shadow, the hands-on struggle that finally reveals Corinna's body, and the eventual hot embrace are much more immediate and visual.²⁷

Ovid's more recent precursor to whom he was primarily indebted was Propertius (ca. 50–10 B.C.). One of the nights he spent with Cynthia, his beloved, was a very happy one:

How happy is my lot! O night that was not dark for me! and thou beloved couch blessed by my delight! How many sweet words we

26. Quoted from J.A. Barsby, ed. and trans., *Ovid's Amores, Book I* (Oxford 1973) Poem 5, 66–68, by permission of Oxford University Press.

27. W.R. Paton's translation of Philodemus' poem with my emendation: O feet, O legs, O thighs for which I justly died, O [buttocks, O pudenda], O flanks, O shoulders, O breasts, O slender neck, O arms, O eyes I am mad for, O lovely movement, O admirable kisses, O exclamations that excite! (*Greek Anthology* 1916) vol. 1, 191, no. 131). On the stylized nature of the Hellenistic love epigram: D.H. Garrison, *Mild Frenzy: A Reading of the Hellenistic Love Epigram* (Wiesbaden 1978) chap. 2.

interchanged while the lamp was by, and how we strove together when the light was gone! For now she struggled with me with breasts uncovered, now veiling herself in her tunic checked my advance. . . .

There is no joy in spoiling love's delights by sightless motion; know, if thou knowest it not, that in love the eyes are guides. Paris himself is said to have been undone by love when he saw the Spartan naked, as she rose from the couch of Menelaus. Naked was Endymion when he impassioned Phoebus' sister, and naked as they say he lay with the naked goddess.

(*Elegies* 2.15)²⁸

"Where did Praxiteles see me naked?" This was the question put by a Greek poet, probably late in the first century B.C., into the mouth of Aphrodite as she walked around and around her statue at Knidos. We recall that her own nudity as a woman was very much on her mind, and it seems that nudity as such was on everyone's mind at the time. That it is expressed now so forthrightly in art and literature is a truly new phenomenon. Another amusing but vivid example of this preoccupation, which is expressed first in late Greek times, is contained in another epigram, again featuring the goddess of love and sex. With a touch of pride, Aphrodite is adding up the list of men who have seen her disrobed: "Paris, Anchises, and Adonis saw me naked. Those are all I know of, but how did Praxiteles contrive it?"²⁹

It is apparent that Latin poets are the most explicit in describing and reacting to female nudity, which must be *seen* because the eyes are the guide to love. But in addition to lovemaking, visual satisfaction could be found while bathing and swimming. Jasper Griffin has outlined the connection between sex and swimming in Roman life and poetry. The beach and the sea afforded delicious opportunities to imagine, and perhaps actually enjoy, nakedness. Propertius loves the thought of watching Cynthia at the seaside resort of Baiae paddling her own little boat or swimming in the shallow waves of the bay (*Elegies* 1.11). Cynthia is not described as nude, but the reader can imagine the clear water revealing her body. Horace, Tibullus, and Martial also sang of such outdoor pleasures in which there was often something risqué as well as playful. But the idea of observing and relishing the nude female exposed in the water is given still sexier imagery in the mythic story of Peleus and Thetis by Catullus.

28. *Propertius* (Loeb Classical Library 1912) 103–4.

29. *Greek Anthology* (Loeb Classical Library) vol. 5, 257, no. 168.

The poet seems to go out of his way to mention how the Nereids lift themselves above the churning waves to show their breasts and bodies to the sailors in the passing ship (Poem 64.53–67). In the same poem, Ariadne, literally a work of art in a tapestry, is so distraught at Theseus' desertion that her hair and clothing come utterly undone and are swept away to sea (53–67). We see her crying naked on the shore as he rows away.³⁰

The excitement that nudity arouses is apparent also in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.155–92). The goddess of the hunt, Diana, together with several nymphs, decides to take a bath in a pool of water in a verdant valley. They are all undressed when an innocent Actaeon stumbles upon them. The nymphs, who spotted him first, shriek and beat their breasts because of their own nakedness, and then they rush over to hide the goddess. They are unable to conceal her because she is so tall. Diana blushes, but she does the right thing and averts her eyes. Ovid presses the issue that she is standing there in full view without her clothes. We realize there is no handy garment for her to draw around herself and she does not have her bow and arrow with her; all she can do about her situation is angrily throw water in Actaeon's face. The consternation and embarrassment of all the women may seem to us comic and schoolgirlish, almost Victorian.

Ovid had another famous bath in mind when he wrote about Diana and Actaeon: the *Bath of Pallas* (*Hymn 5*) by Callimachus (ca. 305–240 B.C.), which we have already examined briefly in chapter 1. Yet the early Hellenistic poet had a quite different conception of nudity and of a woman's reaction to an intruder. The goddess Athena, inadvertently caught bathing by Teiresias, does not scream in outrage as did Diana and her nymphs. Unlike Diana, Athena does not see the event as a personal affront to her privacy or modesty. She herself does not lift a finger against Teiresias. "I did not make your child blind," she says to his stricken mother. We are to understand that it was Zeus who had truly intervened, because one of his universal laws—that immortals were not to be seen by mortals except at their own choosing—had been broken. With reluctance and compassion, therefore, Athena obeys the laws of Zeus by blinding Teiresias.³¹

30. J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (Chapel Hill 1986) chap. 5. J.P. Sullivan discusses voyeurism in *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study* (London 1968) 238–50.

31. The nonerotic nature of Teiresias' encounter with Athena in Callimachus' poem is stressed by E. Leach, "Metamorphoses of the Actaeon Myth," *RM* 88 (1981) 310–11. On Athena's compassionate attitude toward Teiresias: J.R. Heath, "The Blessings of Epiphany in Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas*," *ClAnt* 7 (1988) 72–90.

Ovid's Diana, however, is infuriated by Actaeon's offense. She takes matters into her own hand by throwing water in his face, which initiated the process of his cruel metamorphosis. Brooks Otis writes:

Callimachus' Athena is a masterpiece of delicate feeling, a most successful attempt to combine the awfulness and the humanity of the goddess. Ovid's Diana is human in a very different way. She is, in effect, an instance of outraged female propriety with obviously Roman characteristics. Her bath reminds us of the toilet of a wealthy virgin or matron.³²

It also reminds us that in the first century B.C. female nakedness per se had become an important issue for the poet as well as for the sculptor.

In Ovid's poem the retreat of Diana from Actaeon and her strong reaction to her predicament are similar in nature to Pliny's story that the people of Kos prudishly rejected Praxiteles' nude statue of Aphrodite. In Attic and Apulian red-figure vase paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. that illustrate the story of Actaeon, Artemis is either omitted or appears fully dressed, and interest is concentrated on the male hero. In Campanian paintings of the second to fourth styles (later first century B.C. to first century A.C.) the story of Actaeon is one of the most popular. However, not infrequently the myth's dramatic center is now a nude, crouching Diana secluded in a grotto but observed by a blatantly voyeuristic Actaeon. I believe this shift in focus is significant and is consistent with the creation of the female nude as a new subject for the male gaze in the late Hellenistic period. Ovid's Diana is the type of woman Bernoulli had in mind in 1873 when he interpreted the action of the Aphrodite of Knidos. However the ultimate ideal of Latin love poetry is not the Roman virgin or matron but an alluring mistress or courtesan who is just as much a constructed artifact as a contemporary statue of Aphrodite.³³

The poets Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid were all in love with glamorous and promiscuous women. Catullus' Lesbia was probably a real person, a member of an aristocratic family and the wife of a Roman consul. Propertius' Cynthia seems to have been a courtesan with a good

32. B. Otis, *Ovid, an Epic Poet*² (Cambridge, Eng. 1970) 134.

33. L.R. Lacy argues that a third-century pyxis in Naples (*LIMC* 1, s.v. "Aktaion," no. 129 L. Guimond) depicts Actaeon interrupting a nude Artemis' bath: "Aktaion and a Lost 'Bath of Artemis,'" *JHS* 110 (1990) 41. The actual subject is uncertain, and it is denied as the Actaeon myth by K. Schauenberg: "Aktaion in der Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei," *Jdl* 84 (1969) 29, n. 5. Even if Lacy is correct, Actaeon is not shown observing the naked figure. In contrast see the Pompeian paintings illustrated by Leach, "Metamorphoses," pls. 133–36.

family background. Tibullus' Delia may have had a husband, and her social position was also privileged. Ovid's Corinna was wellborn and perhaps married but independently wealthy. Yet, as Paul Veyne states, these poets are more authors than lovers, and the women they say they love are primarily poetic creations—women who are imaged and imagined, and who look and act in ways desired by Roman male writers. They are conceived as courtesans, and I would propose that Lesbia, Cynthia, Delia, and Corinna had a "sister" whose name was Phryne. Propertius, in fact, makes a point of drawing an unflattering parallel between his Cynthia and Praxiteles' Phryne. On the evidence of the anecdotes that grew up around her name in the late Hellenistic period, Phryne's personality is relatively undeveloped. Her background may not have been upper-class, yet as a courtesan she moved in the highest artistic and intellectual circles in Athens. There is no mention of her accepting cash payments from Praxiteles as if she were a common prostitute. In her wealth and in her ability to dedicate expensive works of art she belongs to that class of women who were the well-regarded and privileged mistresses of Hellenistic rulers. At the same time her appearance and behavior are consonant with those of the courtesans celebrated in Latin love elegy. Indeed I think that all these women may be visualized in such sculpted works of art as the Capitoline or Crouching Aphrodites.³⁴

Perhaps the most important possession of the elegiac courtesan was physical beauty. At the very first sight it could arouse love and passion. To gain his prize, therefore, the lover/poet's unceasing obligation was to assure his mistress that she is without defect, that her height, feet, complexion, hair, and teeth are perfect, and that overall she is as enticing and as irresistible as legendary Helen or Leda. The crowning compliment was to recognize her beauty as divine and as comparable to Aphrodite's. In the same way, according to the late Hellenistic anecdote we perused earlier, Praxiteles recognized, perhaps at first glance, during her walk to the sea at Eleusis, that Phryne was as beautiful as Aphrodite and could qualify fully not only as his mistress but as his model for a statue of the goddess.

In addition to being beautiful, the courtesans of Latin elegy are highly

34. On the identity and social position of the various Roman mistresses: G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 525–48; J.P. Sullivan, *Propertius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge, Eng. 1976) chap. 3. P. Veyne, *Roman Erotic Elegy: Love, Poetry, and the West* (Chicago 1988) 3. For Roman mistresses as metaphorical patterns: M. Wyke, "Mistress and Metaphor in Augustan Elegy," *Helios* 16 (1989) 25–47. On Hellenistic mistresses: S.B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (New York 1984) 51–55.

cultured and literate. They must be elegant and well-groomed and must walk properly. They must be intelligent and must like to receive and read the learned poetry of their lovers.³⁵ In the same way, Phryne visited Praxiteles' studio and zealously sought to distinguish, with his help, the best example of his work for her own acquisition. She also acted as a patron of the arts in commissioning statues for her home town.

Neither Cynthia nor Corinna was devoid of fault, and certainly Phryne was not either. This was a necessary aspect of their fascination. They can deceive, they can be at one and the same time servile and imperious, they adore flattery, and they are vain and greedily demand presents and praise. They can dress extravagantly and like putting themselves on display. They can be lusty, and fidelity is out of the question; they always have more than one lover, which is a major cause of pain and suffering.³⁶

One of Philodemos' poems expresses the yearning and turmoil he feels because of his love for Heliadora: "My soul warns me to flee the desire for Heliadora." But the passion and the complexity of love between man and woman are felt even more intensely in the subjective and unreserved elegies of his contemporary Catullus: "I loathe her and I love her," he says of the mistress who leaves him in agony.³⁷ According to an epigram in Athenaeus (13.591), Praxiteles experienced symptoms of the same kind. It was said that he had inscribed on the base for his statue of Eros:

Praxiteles rendered precisely the love he suffered,
 Drawing the archetype from his own heart.
 Phryne received me as a gift; love philtres no longer
 Do I shoot with any bow, but love is stirred by looking at me.³⁸

R.O.A.M. Lyne has traced the gradual establishment of Greek courtesans and Greek ways of pleasure in Roman society during the second century B.C. Roman troops sent out on military campaigns in the east Mediterranean brought back new habits of luxury and entertainment. By the middle of the second century, a "Greek-styled demi-monde had taken root in Rome," and before long, upper-class and prominent Romans were

35. On the qualities of Roman mistresses: S. Lilja, *The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women* (New York 1978).

36. On the disreputable qualities of Cynthia, which arouse the passions of Propertius: Sullivan, *Propertius*, 91–92.

37. The quotations are from E.A. Havelock, *The Lyric Genius of Catullus* (New York 1967) 143.

38. Pollitt, *Art of Ancient Greece*, 88.

enjoying a new life of sophistication and romance. Sulla had enjoyed the pleasurable company of the theater world while in the east, and he had an intense affair with the wealthy and accomplished courtesan Nicopolis. Even Pompey fell in love with the beautiful Flora, and before Antony succumbed to Cleopatra, he had been the lover of Cytheris, an actress and courtesan. In Rome a romantic relationship with a courtesan who was wealthy, cultured, and sophisticated was becoming fashionable, and yet it allowed the well-bred gentleman to preserve the conventional rules of marriage. By the first century B.C. the fashion became entrenched. It is no wonder these realities of life are reflected in contemporary poetry and in the art of sculpture.³⁹

Women as Goddesses

When Propertius idealizes Cynthia by saying her regal walk reminds him of Athena (*Elegies* 2.2) or when Ovid employs a mythological simile and claims that Corinna's beauty is comparable to, or may even surpass, that of Venus (*Amores* 2.17), they are following a long tradition in classical literature. As early as Homer it was not uncommon for mortal women to be compared to a deity. In the *Iliad* for instance, Briseis and Cassandra are both likened to "Aphrodite the golden" (19.282; 24.699). In the later fifth century, Euripides compared Polyxena's beauty to that of a "sculptured goddess" (*Hecuba* 555–59). Poems by Nossis, a woman writer of the early third century B.C., suggest approvingly that a courtesan may have a mysterious resemblance to statues of Aphrodite.⁴⁰

However, beginning in the early Hellenistic period, historical, rather than legendary, figures were frankly associated with deities. On coins, Alexander the Great was represented as Zeus Ammon with ram's horns, Demetrius Poliorcetes (ruled 294–288 B.C.) wore the bull's horns of Poseidon, and Ptolemy I (305–283) was wrapped in the aegis of Zeus.

Hellenistic queens also began to share divine honors with their consorts at this time. Those of the Ptolemaic dynasty are notorious examples. The husband of Arsinoe II (ca. 315–270), Ptolemy Philadelphos, appears to have formally introduced the custom. Claiming divinity for himself and

39. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets* (Oxford 1980) 9–13.

40. Propertius, more than other elegists, used mythological parallels to enhance not only his mistress but himself: R. Whitaker, *Myth and Personal Experience in Roman Love-Elegy* (Göttingen 1983) 88–104. M. Skinner, "Nossis *Thēlyglōssos*; The Private Text and the Public Book," *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. S.B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill 1991) 24–27.

his sister/wife Arsinoe, as had the pharaohs before him, Ptolemy and Arsinoe followed the Egyptian custom of being identified with Osiris and his sister/wife Isis. In *Idyll* 17 Theocritus compared their union to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera. As queen, Arsinoe was honored after her death in the Ptolemaic dynastic cult, and at the same time, she was worshiped individually in the ruler-cult. Throughout subsequent Ptolemaic history she was assimilated with various goddesses, including Nike, Hera, Demeter, Agathe Tyche, and Isis. Sacrifices, libations, festivals, and prayers celebrated her, and streets were named after her.

But Arsinoe had a special link with Aphrodite even during her lifetime. The reasons were presumably personal, religious, and political. Aphrodite at this time was a formidable Olympian deity, associated not only with fertility, sex, and navigation but also with war. Arsinoe wished to be identified with Aphrodite's singular power and beauty and, in addition, to gain support for the naval ambitions of her husband. The aims were combined when an admiral, Callicrates, dedicated a temple to Queen Arsinoe-Aphrodite on a cliff overlooking the sea near Alexandria. In *Idyll* 15, Theocritus allows us to imagine that it might be Arsinoe herself in the guise of Aphrodite who is lying in the arms of her lover Adonis. Subsequent queens of Egypt, including Cleopatra VII, and queens of the Seleucid and Pergamene empires also were linked with the goddess. The linkage always involved claims of divine authority and beauty.⁴¹

Aphrodite was the patroness of courtesans as well as of queens. The highly esteemed mistresses of Hellenistic monarchs could partake of the cult. Ptolemy II venerated Bilistiche, one of his mistresses, by erecting temples and shrines dedicated to Aphrodite-Bilistiche. Sexual intercourse out of wedlock with innocent young girls or hetairai received the blessings of the goddess in the verses of the third-century poet Asclepiades. Other verses speak of monetary dedications made by wealthy courtesans to Aphrodite. Athenaeus recorded that Phryne herself was an acolyte of the goddess, and this gave her extra leverage at her trial.⁴²

41. The evidence for Arsinoe's association with the various divinities is assembled by P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) vol. 1, 197–245, and D.B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford 1973) 51–62. On the general subject of deified queens: Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, 30–38; G. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore 1932) chap. 3; C. Vatin, *Recherches sur la mariée et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique* (Paris 1970) 85–114.

42. Asclepiades: A. Cameron, "Asclepiades' Girl Friends," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H.P. Foley (New York 1981) 278–81. Dedication, for example, one by Parmenis taken from her payments as hetaira: Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 605.

It is one thing for a mortal to be identified with a deity in the literary arts or to be portrayed with a divine attribute. It is quite another to have oneself represented as an actual god in statuary. There is no evidence that this occurred in the early and middle Hellenistic periods. At this time, when kings and queens identified with a divinity, they were claiming kinship with, and therefore they assumed the power and charisma of, that divinity. But apparently they still did not pretend to reincarnate the god in their persons or to be manifest divinities. Even though Arsinoe was credited with a close relationship to Aphrodite, as far as we know she was never represented as Aphrodite—especially as a nude Aphrodite—in statuary. Pliny mentions that Ptolemy II put up a topaz image of his wife in her temple at Alexandria (NH 37.108), but he does not say that she was shown to look like Aphrodite. It has been proposed that a coin issued in Cyprus around 270–260 B.C. bears the portrait of Arsinoe II just after her death, wearing the shallow stephane of Aphrodite. Not only does the queen wear a stephane, but she also wears a veil and a ram's horn under her ear and holds a scepter, all of which seem to imply divinity. Thus it is difficult to decide for certain whether any of these attributes identify Arsinoe with Aphrodite or Isis (or both). In the second century B.C. Ptolemaic queens could don the fringed mantle or the corkscrew locks of Isis on faience jugs or on portrait statues from Egypt. But this seems to indicate that, as adherents to the cult, they were performing a ceremony honoring Isis, rather than that they reincarnated her. In other words they were human beings acting a part.⁴³

Toward the end of the Hellenistic period, the situation apparently began to change. The dressing up seems to have taken on a heightened meaning when Antony and Cleopatra VII paraded in public as Dionysos/Osiris and Isis/Aphrodite. The motives as before were political, and perhaps there was a certain desperation in their charade. While earlier Ptole-

43. On the difference between the Greek *theos* and the Roman *divus* and on divine power versus incarnation: S.R.F. Price, "Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *JHS* 104 (1984) 79–95. A.D. Nock's earlier article "Notes on Ruler-Cult I–IV," *JHS* 48 (1928) 30–43, is also valuable for a discussion of incarnation and the meaning of the epithet "epiphanes" chosen by Ptolemy V, which signifies not deity incarnate but power. Coin portrait: D.B. Thompson, "A Portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos," *AJA* 59 (1955) 202, pl. 55, fig. 6; Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai*, 29, 57–59, 61. Isis attributes: E.J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (Princeton 1988) 10, n. 33. On the overlap between gods and men and the consequent ambiguities of the Ptolemaic ruler-cult: *CAH*² VII, 1, 84–96 (F.W. Walbank). For portraits of Ptolemaic queens with so-called Isis locks: H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1975) Cleopatra I–V, 112–24, M1–13.

maic queens had adopted the attributes of Isis, Cleopatra was the first queen to be completely identified with Isis during her lifetime. When she appeared before her subjects, she would put on the robes considered sacred to Isis; and she called herself the New Isis, leaving out her own royal name as if she had left her old self behind and taken on an entirely new identity (Plutarch *Antony* 54). E. Hermann has argued that there was a cult statue in Augustan Rome of Cleopatra dressed as Isis and holding an asp.⁴⁴

Cleopatra was also associated with Aphrodite. Coins that the queen minted in her own right in Cyprus in about 47 B.C. showing her holding her son Caesarion have often been understood as Aphrodite holding Eros. Julius Caesar erected a temple to Venus Genetrix, his putative ancestress, in Rome, and ancient authors state that he placed a gold statue of Cleopatra next to the image of Venus in the shrine (Appian 2.102; Dio Cassius 51.22). L. Curtius proposed that the well-known head in the Vatican Museum, which is generally accepted as a mid-first-century B.C. portrait of Cleopatra VII, originally depicted the queen as Aphrodite holding Eros on her left shoulder. He suggests that this might be a copy of the statue set up by Caesar in Venus' temple.⁴⁵

The official deification and canonization of a deceased ruler became a Roman custom with the death of Julius Caesar in the late first century B.C. From then on, a portrait statue might be viewed as embodying an actual divinity. For instance, on a relief in Ravenna of the mid-first century A.C., the deified Livia is depicted in the guise of Venus Genetrix and is accompanied by Augustus, dressed as Mars, and other members of her divine family. She wears a long dress and is diademed. She also carries Amor on her shoulder. While Livia was still alive, Ovid had declared that because Livia possessed the beauty of Venus and the character of Juno, she was worthy to share the divine couch of her husband (*Ex Ponto* 3.1.117). However, neither a Roman empress nor a Greek or Roman matron in the west or east would dare to have herself portrayed as the nude Aphrodite/Venus before the late first century A.C. It would seem reasonable to conclude, then, that the habit of looking at a statue of Aphrodite and reading it as the concrete embodiment or stand-in of one's wife or mistress was a

44. E. Hermann, "Kleopatras angeblicher Schlagentod," *PhilWoch* 51 (1931) 1100–1102.

45. Cleopatra coin: Davis and Kraay, *Hellenistic Kingdoms*, 262. L. Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge zum Porträt der römischen Republik und der julisch-claudischen Familie," *RM* 48 (1933) 184–243, figs. 3–5.

late development that may have begun under Roman influence no earlier than the late second or early first century B.C.⁴⁶

No poet was more aware of the evocative power of images than Ovid, especially if those images are metamorphosed by the passionate yearnings of a master sculptor. With this in mind, I offer here, finally, one more literary example that suggests to me that the anecdotes about Praxiteles and Phryne reflect an erotic climate that prevailed elsewhere. It is Ovid's story of the sculptor Pygmalion who fell in love with his ivory statue (*Metamorphoses* 10.243–97). The story emphasizes the close identification of the artist with his work of art, and therefore, to my mind, it resembles the contemporary anecdotes connecting the sculptor Praxiteles with his model/mistress Phryne.⁴⁷

Unmarried, Pygmalion had longed to have a wife who was a pure virgin. He had had bad luck and scorned the many loose women he had seen. So he carved an ideal figure out of snowy ivory, giving it perfect beauty unmatched in any other woman. Standing back to see what he had wrought, his admiration is boundless, and he wonders if it is a work of art or a living creature. He falls in love. But first he covers her up by dressing and bejeweling her, then he undresses her and lays her on a couch. After he holds the statue in a prolonged embrace, Venus answers his prayer, and the ivory turns into a warm and receptive body.

Ovid's idea for the tale was taken from Hellenistic sources, but he made a major change.⁴⁸ In the earlier account the lover is a king rather than a sculptor, and the king himself did not make the image he adores. The statue in the Greek version, moreover, represented Aphrodite herself rather than a maiden. Ovid transforms the king into a sculptor and the goddess into an ideal woman who is then brought to life by his caresses. Thus the poet highlights the romantic pairing of the artist with the woman

46. Ravenna relief: J. Pollini, "Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Ravenna Relief," *RM* 88 (1981) 117–40. He dates the relief to the reign of Nero. G. Ferrari argues that the woman is not Livia but Fausta, wife of Constantine, and dates the relief early in the fourth century A.C.: "*Felicio Augusto: Portrait Medallions in Glass and the Ravenna Relief*," *OpRom* 17 (1989) 33–60. For matrons as Venus: C.C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 65; H. Wrede, "Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit," *RM* 78 (1971) 125–66; Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum* (Mainz 1981) 7–30.

47. It is not surprising that the eroticism of the Pygmalion story had a strong appeal in the nineteenth century. Cf. D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago 1989) 242–43. E. Downing discusses the fusion of art/life and subject/statue in the Pygmalion story: "Anti-Pygmalion: The Praeceptor in *Ars Amatoria* Book 3," *Helios* 17 (1990) 237–49.

48. On Ovid's use of the Hellenistic source: cf. J.B. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Chapel Hill 1988) 215–19.

in the work of art he created, just as Praxiteles is erotically coupled with Phryne, who can be perceived as identical with the Knidian Aphrodite. Both Pygmalion and Praxiteles are in a sense voyeurs of their female statues, in which nudity is a major feature; the two are also the possessors of the real woman the work corporealizes. Flesh and stone or flesh and ivory interface and become almost indistinguishable.

Conclusion

Ancient writers have bequeathed to us a rich legacy of poems, eulogies, and descriptions of the statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles. They reveal over and over again why the figure was found endlessly fascinating. Rather than a marble statue, they perceive the figure primarily as a living woman, inhabited by Aphrodite herself. Her nudity, which made her unusually alluring, was always readily visible in her shrine; her melting expression and gesture of modesty portrayed an ideal that was at the same time erotically stimulating and divine. Epigrams sing of her vanity and her condescension, both of which seemed to make her even more alluring and beautiful; she was proud of her long list of lovers. Sightseers constantly visited her, and she was always welcoming, aware that admiration was her proper due. One visitor even made love to her. We know that a king was not able to purchase her, not even for a very high price.

Other stories relate that Praxiteles, rather than conjuring up some immaterial Platonic form, used as his model for the Knidian Aphrodite the wholly corporeal body of his mistress Phryne. Their love affair was passionate and contained a touch of danger and exoticism because of Phryne's profession as a courtesan. Yet Phryne's beauty was as remarkable as Aphrodite's, and the anecdotes allow us to imagine that she, Phryne, might be the woman in the statue.

These colorful and erotic epigrams and literary sources have proved very influential. They have affected, indeed I would say determined, the biases of many art historians and critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries toward Praxiteles' great statue. They were probably in the back of Bernoulli's mind all the time. The groundwork for future studies not only of Praxiteles' Knidia but of all ancient statues of Aphrodite was laid out by him in a period, moreover, that was outstandingly patriarchal and deeply disturbed by the unfortunate consequences of widespread prostitution. But whereas ancient writers viewed courtesans and love affairs between married men and mistresses with amused or ironic detachment, modern authors could not avoid attributing unethical and improper be-

havior to Phryne, and sometimes even to Aphrodite, the two seeming so much alike and so often sharing a common identity. Both the work and character of Praxiteles himself were made to bear some of the onus.¹

It is essential to realize that the literary sources that have most influenced the interpretation of the Knidian Aphrodite were all written many centuries after the statue was set in place. No contemporary or even early Hellenistic source mentions it. The first securely dated notice is furnished by Cicero in 70 B.C. when he wonders how much money the Knidians would demand before selling their goddess (*In Verrem* 4.60.135). And the authors most often relied on for important information, Pliny, Pausanias, Lucian, and Athenaeus, wrote nearly 200 years or even more after Cicero. By their time, Praxiteles' statue had achieved an extraordinary fame, largely because of the nudity of the figure and its erotic implications, which had been enhanced by a change to an elaborate and enlarged setting.

The Greeks of the fourth century had reacted, I believe, quite differently. The Knidia, a cult statue, was a dignified image enframed in a small shrine that the pilgrim could not enter. The goddess was alone and motionless, sensuous but not available. I doubt that at that time she would have been mistaken for Phryne or any other mortal woman. Aphrodite was to be viewed in full as a divine vision, and her gestures and the hydria at her feet could be easily seen through the large door. But splendid though the figure surely was, Praxiteles' contemporaries were silent about his statue, and there is no record that it elicited shock or excitement at the time, or that it was recognized as a startling breakthrough.

Traveling, trading, and touring increased dramatically as Rome, beginning in the later second century B.C. gradually united the Mediterranean world. This opened the routes from Rome to the Greek cities of the Hellenistic east, and for the first time made travel and long journeys relatively safe and easy for businessmen, government officials, artists, festivalgoers and sightseers. Knidos itself had become a free port under Rome in 129 B.C., and its two good harbors received the trading ships and traveling merchants in increasing numbers. With the demise of Cleopatra VII after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., Augustus controlled an empire that extended from Spain to Syria. The sea routes were patrolled and

1. Phryne's name and reputation were well known even beyond scholarly circles. In 1950 S. de Beauvoir was sued for libel by the Parisian dancer Cléo de Mérode. One of de Mérode's titillating ballets in the 1890s was called "Phryne." De Beauvoir mentioned the dancer, who was still living, in the context of prostitution in *Le Deuxième Sexe*; see Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, 246.

pirates and barbarians kept at bay, so travel became still more comfortable and more frequent. We know from the writings of Pliny and Lucian among others that Knidos was one of the favored stops. Sailors probably welcomed the opportunity to pay their respects to their special deity, and it is not hard to imagine their delight. An exotic nude, however still undeniably divine, the Knidia became widely admired by visitors with cosmopolitan tastes. Another stopover was Kos, where Apelles' painting of the Anadyomene could be visited, at least until Augustus took it off to Rome.²

As the Knidia's renown increased, she became a prime topic of conversation and a subject for poetry. Epigrams were composed. One that I have cited more than once already has the goddess herself circling around like an experienced tourist to admire her own statue. Other poems of uncertain date, but probably from the late Hellenistic period or even later, explicitly link the artist Praxiteles with the courtesan Phryne. It seems very clear that only around this time was the connection between the two made, and only then, I believe, were the first anecdotes invented. They are a vivid romantic pair conceived according to the tastes of the time. A courtesan known to have lived in Athens in the fourth century B.C. could be logically associated with an Athenian sculptor whose statue of the goddess of love at Knidos had recently become famous. The persona of Phryne was accordingly elaborated to help explain and extend the beguiling and erotic power of the sculpture. Fictitious stories that emphasize Phryne's inclination to reveal her body—before Praxiteles, at court, or at Eleusis—are just what might be expected of a courtesan. Her beauty and lack of inhibition were also desirable features in a mistress. The ancient anecdotes may have no historical authenticity, and yet one can understand how their cumulative effect could spawn prudish reactions and prejudices. In any case Phryne has taken her place in history as the archetypal model/mistress.³

The poetry, epigrams, and commentaries that begin in the late Hellenistic period and continue into the early years of the Roman empire may not be helpful in understanding the Knidia, but they are very important for the interpretation and chronology of other statues of Aphrodite. The elegiac poems of Ovid are particularly interesting from this point of view. Ovid was concerned much of the time with the theme of love, and because

2. On travel: L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London 1979).

3. Poem linking Praxiteles and Phryne: attributed to Leonidas of Alexandria of the first century A.C. according to Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, 540–41; as archetypes: E. Kris and O. Kurz, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist* (New Haven 1979) 114–19.

of their elegance, eroticism, and humor, his poems have been considered “rococo.” Aphrodite—his Venus—is a perpetual presence, playing her part in the narrative as subject, agent, or sometimes as work of art. On one occasion he assured the goddess that he had never ceased to love her. Ovid’s beloved, Corinna, is *seen* in detail, objectified, and adored as if she were a beautiful image. Her clothing and her nakedness preoccupy him. Molly Myerowitz has stated the idea succinctly: “In Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* the woman herself is an *opus*.” The lover, the beloved, and love itself, however, were central to an earlier generation than Ovid. Propertius cannot make love unless he can see his woman and caress her with his eyes. Thus it should be emphasized that the erotic elegy was a new literary genre arising at the very same time that the sculptured Aphrodite began to proliferate in Graeco-Roman art. These poems, moreover, were nearly always addressed to the poet’s mistress, who was as beautiful as a goddess but was also a courtesan, whether real or imagined. It is in this context that we can place the fabrication of a romantic attachment between Praxiteles and Phryne.⁴

I have discussed at some length the marble group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros from the house of the Poseidoniastes at Delos. The narrative content and flavor of that work and of similar rococo compositions are comparable to the tales about Phryne and Praxiteles. Phryne’s teasing behavior described in the literary sources is virtually illustrated in the Delian Aphrodite. The latter’s graceful limbs and soft flesh are beautifully carved and could easily cause the staining mentioned by Pliny. The skirmish around her genitals is reminiscent of the undressing games played with body and drapery in other late Hellenistic art (for instance, Aphrodite Kallipygos) and with the resistance Corinna puts up as Ovid beds her.

Beginning with Bernoulli, the Aphrodite of Knidos has been correctly recognized as an inspiration to later Greek sculptors. Either directly or indirectly, the seven Aphrodite types I have chosen for discussion are indebted to Praxiteles’ statue, and they have dominated modern discussions of the classical female nude. Only one, the Aphrodite from Melos, is a Greek original. The majority of their name-statues are Roman copies of the second and third centuries A.C., located in Italy, primarily in Rome, where they were beatified by Winckelmann and canonized by Bernoulli and his many disciples. And they were admired by curious travelers and artists thereafter. Having received such concentrated attention, they were

4. Ovid as “rococo”: G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy*² (London 1969) chap. 9; M. Myerowitz, *Ovid’s Games of Love* (Detroit 1985) 141.

almost automatically recruited in the twentieth century to stand for the whole genre. Indeed these particular statues have exercised undue control over our thinking and scholarship. Particularly crucial is the way they have been used to trace an alleged linear evolution. In the past the earlier small copies of the different types, which can shed important light on chronological issues, have been largely ignored.

The seven Aphrodite types were later Greek inventions, and if we consider them as a group, their appearance gains in significance. Rather than a steady sequence of originals following directly after the mid-fourth-century work by Praxiteles, the evidence suggests that there was a long hiatus of nearly two centuries—from roughly 330 until 100 B.C.—after which the nude or almost-nude goddess flowered abundantly. A sensuous Aphrodite became an unmistakably popular type for the first time. Two of these late figures—the Capitoline and Medici statues—were probably suggested by the much earlier Knidia, while the others—the Crouching Aphrodite, the two Anadyomenes, the goddess untying her sandal, and the Melian and Kallipygos Aphrodites—were completely novel conceptions. They all possessed a charm and appeal that, except for the last named, made copies of them constantly in demand, so they were multiplied rapidly and almost simultaneously in a great spurt of artistic activity. R. Lullies was correct in stating that the naked Aphrodite took on a new life after 150 B.C. Pliny (*NH* 34.52) declared that art revived in the 156th olympiad (156–153 B.C.), and although there is dispute as to exactly what he meant, it could be argued that he points to this renewal. Even semidraped figures of the goddess do not become common until then.⁵

At almost the same time, small marble and terracotta versions became available and were widely distributed. No two were exactly the same. Poses were reversed; heads were turned; gestures varied; the weight shifted; drapery was clutched, knotted, or billowed; coiffures were rearranged; and dolphins, apples, vases, mirrors, and pillars were attached or detached as needed. The variety of embellishments was enormous, yet both custom and fashion dictated that the number of types on which embellishments occurred remain recognizable and hence relatively restricted in number. Close correspondence among several replicas could simply indicate cooperative work practices and procedures within a single workshop. Evidence from Delos suggests that certain workshops specialized in one or two types.

5. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite*, 82. For a succinct discussion of Pliny's statement: Pollitt, *Ancient View*, 27; Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 2–5.

Greek art of any period—whether vase shapes or statuary—tended to run within a limited range of formulas. The persistence of the architectural orders is another indication of Greek conformity to familiar conventions without, however, exact repetition. We are not eager to search for the one “original” Doric temple, even though so many seem the same. Likewise, for each of the newly conceived Aphrodites, I do not believe that the pursuit of a single original as the work of one creative genius is worthwhile. But the individual craftsman might take pride in his version of a general and flexible type. Such is the case of Kleomenes, who signed the Medici Aphrodite. The medium of the copy did not matter; nor did the scale. The work could be of bronze, marble, or terracotta, depending on its intended location. Marble versions predominate on Delos because clay was not available on the island.

Small-scale terracotta renditions are especially valuable in determining the originating time of the types because for the most part they are datable. They have been found in quantity in private homes, sometimes in domestic shrines, and in tombs. This suggests that their appeal was strong for both men and women. They appear almost suddenly, as if sparked by some new impetus. We have not learned, it seems, what we should from these nonmonumental works of art—because of our long prejudice in favor of high art. That they are a clear index of current tastes is indisputable.⁶

Praxiteles' goddess was a serene and undemanding divinity as she stood in her shrine. By analyzing the derivation and meaning of the pose, we have confirmed the view that the statue was a true classical statement of the mid-fourth century. One cannot, in my view, construct a narrative situation around either her gestures or her attributes. Late Hellenistic Aphrodites are rather different. Their gestures are more compelling, and the spectator consequently becomes more involved. But the goddess is still not engaged with the observer. She also never lies down, sleeps, or closes her eyes; that is, she never abandons herself to the viewer. Her actions are self-absorbing, and her eyes are open but remain unfocused. The pudica gesture of the Capitoline and Medici types and the elegant movements of the Crouching, Anadyomene, and Sandalbinder Aphrodites command the spectator's admiration and worship. Those figures that employ the pudica

6. On small-scale copies: E. Bartman provides clear evidence that small versions of famous statues were treasured by both sculptor and owner as much as the larger work. Moreover, her investigations into copies of the Lateran Poseidon and the Herakles Epitrapezios show they were not based on single statuary prototypes: *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden 1992) esp. 187–90.

gesture affirm the center of power, so to speak, and the beauty and fullness of the female body. The arms celebrate, rather than hide, the living form. The fleshy rolls around the belly and diaphragm and the heavy pendulous breasts of the Crouching Aphrodite were admired and desired because they signified the more voluptuous woman. A woman's body thus crouching, rather than standing, revealed different and perhaps more exciting aspects of her beauty. The autonomous and proud bearing of the half-draped Aphrodite from Melos does not make a pathetic appeal to our sympathies; the figure is conceived as both sensuous and distant. But in the long run, these statues are statements about the sexual impulse, which is common to all humankind and considered divine. They are not about the nature of woman.

Winckelmann promulgated the view that the Hellenistic period was one of inevitable decline—of imitation and lack of originality. Today this notion tends to be restricted to the late or last third of, rather than the whole, Hellenistic period. Consequently the underlying premise holds that the many types of Aphrodite statues prevalent after 150 B.C. must of necessity be derived from models conceived in more imaginative phases of Greek art. According to this logic the early and High Hellenistic periods, being earlier, are automatically more innovative than the late Hellenistic. For example, the Aphrodite of Melos, a true masterpiece that is clearly established as dating in the late Hellenistic period, has been downgraded as a copy of an original that is only known in a second-rate Roman copy. The logic seems absurd. The thrust of the present study is to demonstrate that rather than arid and exhausted, the late Hellenistic period was intensely creative.

In designing their new Aphrodites, the sculptors of late Hellenism might dip occasionally into the minor arts of the past for ideas or flavor, but never, I submit, with the thought of revival or imitation uppermost in their minds. The classicising details that have been detected in the various statues have been regarded as extraneous and foreign and as evidence of a controlling prototype. Instead the classicising is indicative of their true time of origin. But it is only one element in a style mixture that was innovative and characteristic of the period. I do not think this late Hellenistic flowering of the female nude is retrospective.

Let us now consider the developmental theories that have been applied to Hellenistic statues of Aphrodite. An evolutionary framework, which was fundamental to all nineteenth-century thinking, was the underlying premise of Bernoulli's history. According to his scheme, the fourth-century Knidia was seminal and was bound to give rise almost immediately to

further nude female statuary. Krahmer established a basic formal development for all Hellenistic sculpture, and this allowed later scholars to fill in the picture only outlined by Bernoulli. Brinkerhoff paid careful attention to the pose of the individual Aphrodite types and was able to delineate an unfolding pattern for the third and second centuries. Along the way, he read the goddess' mind. When the unfolding stopped at the end of the second century, it was argued that copying and elaborations began. Variations on the theme of Aphrodite figures appeared in such profusion that they could hardly be arranged or systematized. Many scholars still accept this evolutionary scheme, which was spelled out in almost excruciating detail by W. Neumer-Pfau in 1982.

The development of the male nude—to some scholars the major mission of Greek sculptors from the very beginning—is naturally considered a parallel phenomenon. Starting with the long series of archaic kouroi and continuing through the rational experiments of Polykleitos and Lysippos and his followers, the male nude had proved to be a consistently evolving type. It was observed that the undressed condition of the earliest male figure did not have to be explained; the kouroi stand completely idle. But male nudity in Greek art is nevertheless always meaningful because it may connote divinity or military or athletic heroism. Furthermore the gradual evolution of the male statue has been conceived as a steady ascent. The figure is gradually freed in time and space, and concurrently he advances intellectually and, by implication, morally. The development of the male nude in Greek art then is construed as evidence of an ever more expressive humanity in which sexuality plays virtually no role.⁷

For the Aphrodite of Knidos, however, it was felt necessary to invent an excuse—a bath—to justify her nakedness, and an article of clothing set beside her was interpreted as a quick way to get her out of trouble. But the Knidia, like Apollo or Zeus, is naked because she is divine. While the evolution of the male nude is supposedly aimed toward ethical and intellectual perfection, the freeing in time and space of the female nude has too often and quite unfairly signified degeneration, a fall from divine to mortal, from moral to immoral.

In doing the research for this book, I have been led to wonder many times why Polykleitos and his statue of the Doryphoros have played so central a role in histories of Greek art, whereas Praxiteles and the Knidia have been marginalized. I have had to conclude that this is a modern prejudice. Greek scientists and doctors may have thought a woman's inter-

7. Cf. D. Haynes, *Greek Art and the Idea of Freedom* (London 1981) 35, 51.

nal organs were less efficient than a man's, but Greek sculptors at all times idealized the female form to the same degree and in the same way they idealized the male body. Youth was the *sine qua non* of both, because it was a metaphor for reproductive power. Furthermore I have been unable to find any evidence—in either art or literature—that the ancient Greeks considered Polykleitos their foremost artistic spokesperson or the male nude their paradigm. Praxiteles is profoundly revered by all ancient writers, and he is unquestionably the equal of Polykleitos. And if the number of Roman copies and variations is indicative of the popularity of the Doryphoros, there are many many more of the Knidia.⁸

“Closed” as well as “open” form and frontal emphasis as well as “baroque,” three-dimensional compositions all coexist in late Hellenistic art. No single principle of form governs the designs of these diverse late Aphrodites. The Krahmer method of dating simply does not work for these statues, and when it is manipulated to support a biased understanding about the nature of women, the results are wrongheaded in the extreme.

We should abandon the evolutionary model in whatever way it has been applied to statues of Aphrodite. The goddess did not out of timidity disrobe gradually. The Knidia carved by Praxiteles was indeed an inspiration to later sculptors, but not immediately. Aphrodite did not gradually awaken to her naked predicament in the third century—which has been claimed. Nor was there any need for her to seek concealment or eventual liberation in the second century—which has also been claimed. And certainly these late figures do not ask us to sympathize with their supposed secret conflicts. Rather we should focus on the religious meaning of their nudity. Male patrons surely enjoyed them because of their sheer sensuous beauty, but also because they embody the pre-Christian recognition of the power and benefits of sex.

We know two patrons by name, Nikomedes of Bithynia and Dionysios from Beirut. In addition there are all the men and women who lived in the houses and were buried in the tombs of the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods. The nude goddess seems to have symbolized a hold on

8. On the views of the Hippocratic doctors and Aristotle regarding the inferiority of women's bodies: L. Dean-Jones, “The Cultural Construct of the Female Body in Classical Greek Science,” in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. S.B. Pomeroy (Chapel Hill 1991) 111–37. In view of the extravagant claims made for the importance of the Doryphoros in antiquity, it must be stated that there are no reduced copies after it. While I have no count of the miniature copies of the Knidia, they are surely virtually innumerable; cf. Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies*, 18.

life itself and a respect for its genesis. Statues or statuettes of Aphrodite apparently always served a religious purpose to one degree or another in the ancient world.

Feelings of gratitude and reverence, however, included an awareness of the sexuality of the goddess. Male patrons, I have argued, might imagine the statues were representations of their mistresses. The male gaze sought out a pleasing, smiling, independent, but ultimately accommodating, goddess—or woman. To men, the statue itself and its female subject were (and probably always will be) confused and fused. Nikomedes apparently revered the Knidia as a religious image, but at the same time as a kind of exchange commodity; the group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros from Delos was also set up in a commercial context among businessmen and shipowners in the house of the Poseidoniastes.

Ordinary Greek and Roman women seem to have found the figures of the goddess complimentary and idealizing, and therefore an acceptable projection of their gender. Aphrodite could be their friend and sister in the home, the domestic shrine, the garden, or the tomb. In the long run the pervasiveness of the goddess in late Greek sculpture, her “heroic nudity,” and the ingenuity with which her body is revealed, concealed, and adorned are, I believe, indicative that the social status of women in the Hellenistic age had improved over that of the classical periods.⁹ And if we are to understand Praxiteles and his work, it is helpful to recall one of the basic problems we have uncovered: Aphrodite or the woman in the statue in antiquity is inherently innocent, whereas Aphrodite or the woman in the statue had become by the nineteenth century inherently sinful.

Roman patronage and influence were important factors in the rise of the female nude as a popular subject for the sculptor’s art. In the late third century B.C., Aphrodite of Eryx was brought from Sicily to Rome and her temple was dedicated on the Capitoline. Converted to Venus, she became a major Roman deity and an inhabitant of many houses, such as those at Pompeii. In the Roman world, Delos was a thriving center for mercantile activity between Rome and the East; the traveling merchants of the house of the Poseidoniastes came from all over the Mediterranean; a cult statue of Roma occupied one of their chapels. In 166 Delos had been opened up as a free port by Rome, and its mercantile activity exploded in the later part of the century. The torso of the Knidian Aphrodite found in the ship

9. For the social status of women: Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, chaps. 1 and 2. R.R.R. Smith acknowledges the new position of women of the period, but he does not attempt to precisely date Aphrodite statuary: *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) 79–83.

wrecked off Anticythera that was probably en route from Delos to Rome is the first of many copies ordered by Roman patrons. Replicas of the other goddess types were soon in great demand. Just before Nikomedes IV died, he willed his kingdom of Bithynia to Rome, whom he had feared all his life, so great had Roman power become in western Asia Minor.

The Aphrodite of Knidos and the other types treated in this study continued to be important into later imperial times. They were to adorn theaters, baths, fountains, and palaces in the east and west. Hadrian's circular temple at Tivoli apparently was constructed to show off his copy of the Knidia. The longevity of the various types, however, is perhaps best revealed in numismatics. Allowing for the fact that there is some ambiguity and overlapping and, with the exception of the Aphrodite Kalipygos, each type was depicted on coins minted in the imperial east within the second and third centuries A.C. That they were not utilized as devices prior to this time is rather baffling since the types were already well known and widely disseminated. M. Bernhart's listing of coin types indicated they were minted chiefly in Asia and Syria. Moreover it is clear that the individual statue types were employed on coins issued from more than one city. For example, between 211 and 218, coins from Knidos struck by Caracalla and Plautilla bear the image of Praxiteles' Knidia. But the same figure appears at Tarsus in Cilicia under Maximinus in 235, and at Midaion in 217–18 under Diadoumenian. The Crouching Aphrodite was employed by Julia Domna in the early third century in Bithynia; but under the name of Sabina, the figure was used on coins issued in Pontos. The nude Anadyomene was selected in the later second century for the mints of Achaia and in the early third century for those of Lydia. In short, the coins do not assist us in pinpointing the geographical origin of any of the Aphrodite types. Their use on coins seems to signify that these statues were famous and treasured works of art in the possession of several city-states and therefore manifestations of wealth and civic pride. They were honored also because they acknowledged a deep-rooted and long tradition of veneration toward the goddess Aphrodite, which was always especially apparent in the east. At the same time, the cult of Aphrodite/Venus was linked, both in the east and the west, with the mythical origin, beginning with Julius Caesar, of the Roman imperial house.¹⁰

There may, however, be another explanation governing the choice of these Aphrodite types as coin devices during later imperial times. A large

10. P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. H.A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor 1988) chap. 5.

number of them bear the names of women, that is, empresses. Sometimes they had the right of coinage themselves. Julia Domna, a Syrian woman and the second wife of Septimius Severus, seems to have favored several types, and frequent issues from different cities included her legend. Also frequent on relevant coin issues are the names of Sabina, Hadrian's wife; Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla; Faustina the Younger (161–75), the wife of Marcus Aurelius; Crispina (177–83), the wife of Commodus; and Julia Cornelia Paula, the first wife of Elagabalus (218–22). All these women were exceptionally powerful in government affairs and were ambitious and independent in themselves, or were made to seem so through firm backing from and partnership with their emperor-spouses or children. For political and religious reasons, they appear to have sought identification with Aphrodite/Venus as an expression of their power.

Aphrodite, the goddess of love, became a subject in high favor in the late Hellenistic period, and she continued to be a potent symbol in the centuries following. As works of art, large or small, in marble or clay, the nude Aphrodite figures symbolize the mythical generosity and humanity of womankind. But they have a more universal meaning: they are ideal conceptions of sexuality and the nature of love. They also express the vitality of a new, not a declining, period of art history. As in the past, Greek artists were responding imaginatively to a valid but different challenge. Praxiteles had indeed pointed the way.

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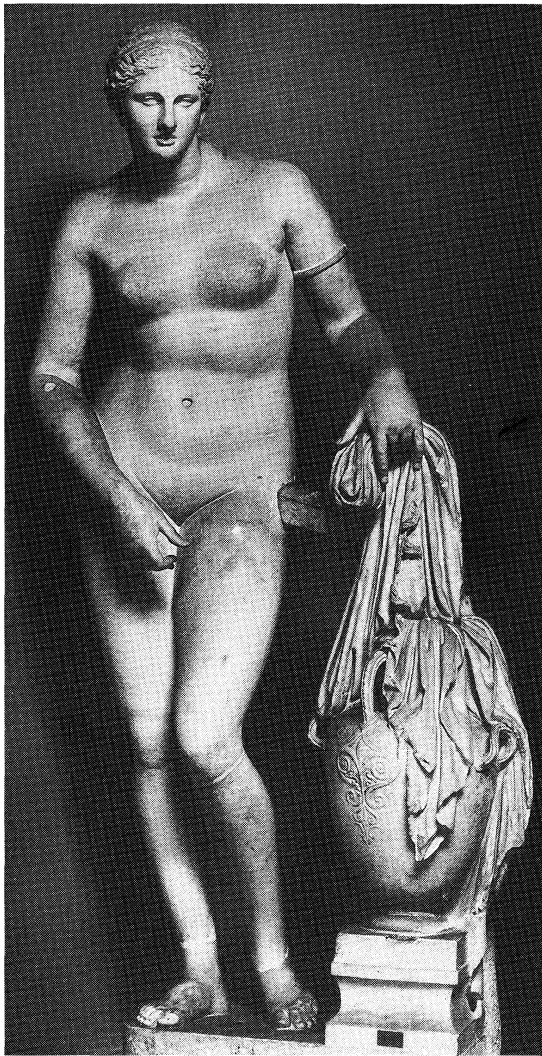


Fig. 1. Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy, Rome, Vatican 812. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 68.3650.)

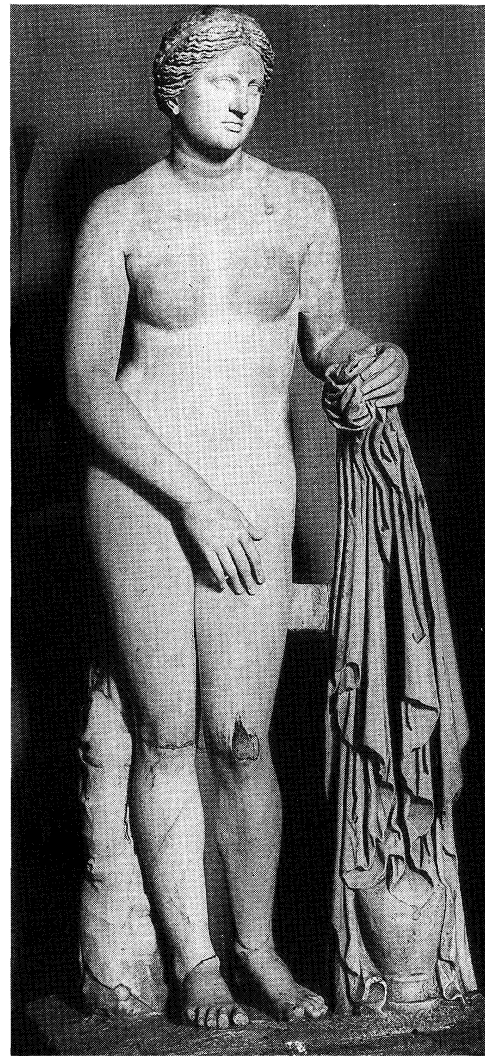


Fig. 2. Aphrodite of Knidos, Bevedere type, Roman copy, Rome, Vatican 4260. (Photo Vatican, Archivio Fotografico.)



Fig. 3. Aphrodite of Knidos on bronze coin from Knidos, A.D. 211-18, American Numismatic Society no. 1970.142.488. (Photo ANS.)



Fig. 4. Aphrodite of Knidos on bronze coin from Tarsus, A.D. 235-38. (Photo from *Auktion, Monnaies et Medailles XIII*, 17-19, June 1954, no. 921.)

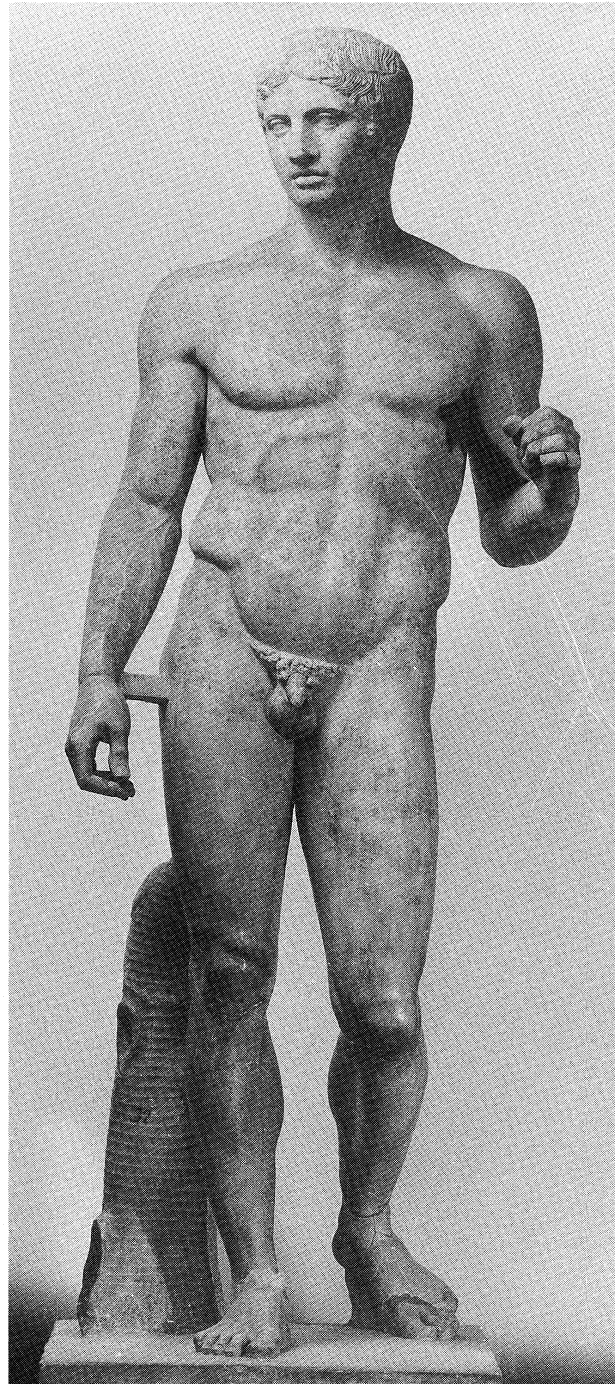


Fig. 5. Doryphoros by Polykleitos, Naples, National Museum 6146, Roman copy. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 66.1831.)



Fig. 6. Caryatid from Erechtheum, London, British Museum 407. (Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.)



Fig. 7. Idol from Cyprus, Copenhagen, National Museum 3719. (Photo National Museum.)



Fig. 8. Rape scene, detail of frieze from Temple of Apollo, Bassae. London, British Museum 524. (Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.)



Fig. 9. Women at a tomb, detail white-ground lekythos by Woman Painter, Athens, National Museum 1956. (Photo Hirmer Fotoarchiv 561.0290.)



Fig. 10. Kore 675, Athens, Acropolis Museum. (Photo Hirmer Fotoarchiv 654.1907.)

Fig. 11. Aphrodite, detail, Parthenon, east pediment (M), London, British Museum. (Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.)





Fig. 12. Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros, from Delos. Athens, National Museum 3335. (Photo National Museum.)

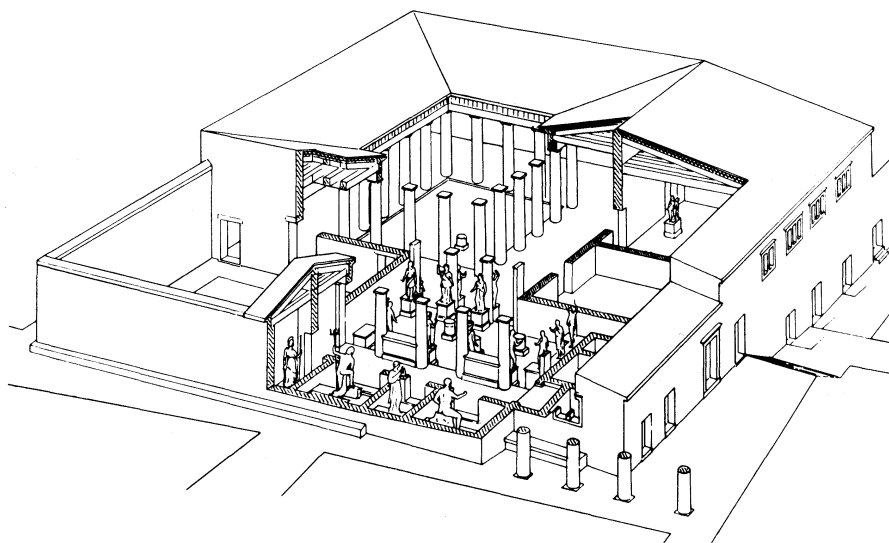


Fig. 13. Reconstruction of Establishment of Poseidoniastes, Delos. (Drawing from *Exploration Archéologique de Délos* VI, 32, fig. 26.)



Fig. 14. Nymph disrobed by satyr from Establishment of the Poseidoniastes, Delos. Delos Museum A 4156. (Photo Ecole française d'Athènes.)

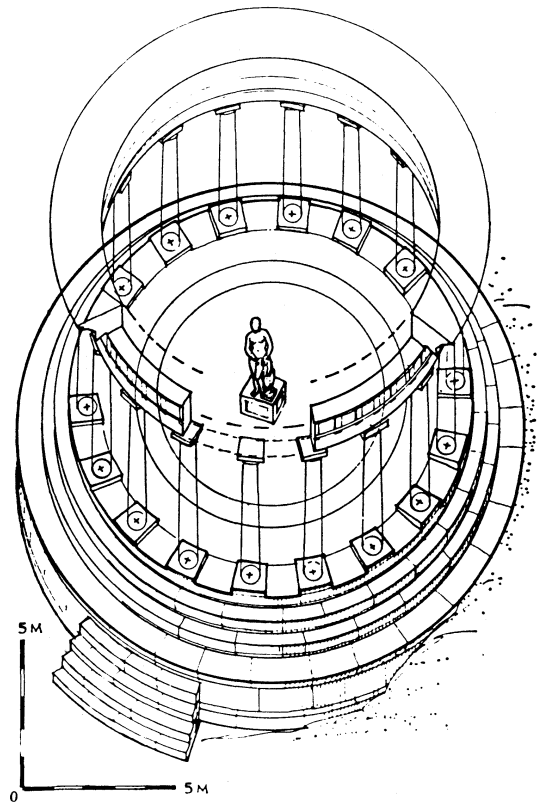


Fig. 15. Reconstruction of Temple of Aphrodite Euploia, Knidos (Drawing from Love, *AJA* 72 (1976) 74, illus. 9.)

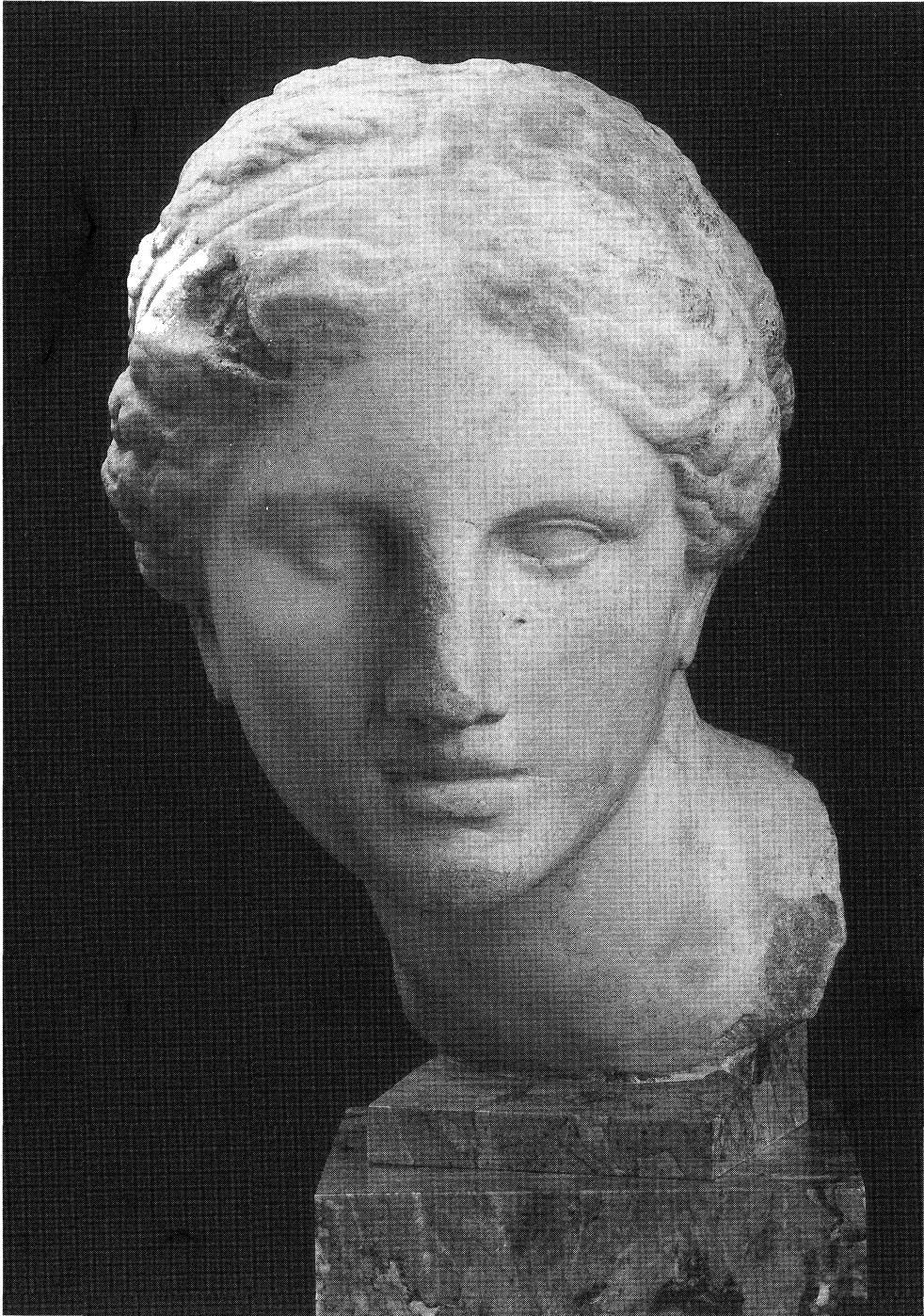


Fig. 16. "Kaufmann" head of Aphrodite of Knidos, Paris, Louvre MA 3518.
(Photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux.)

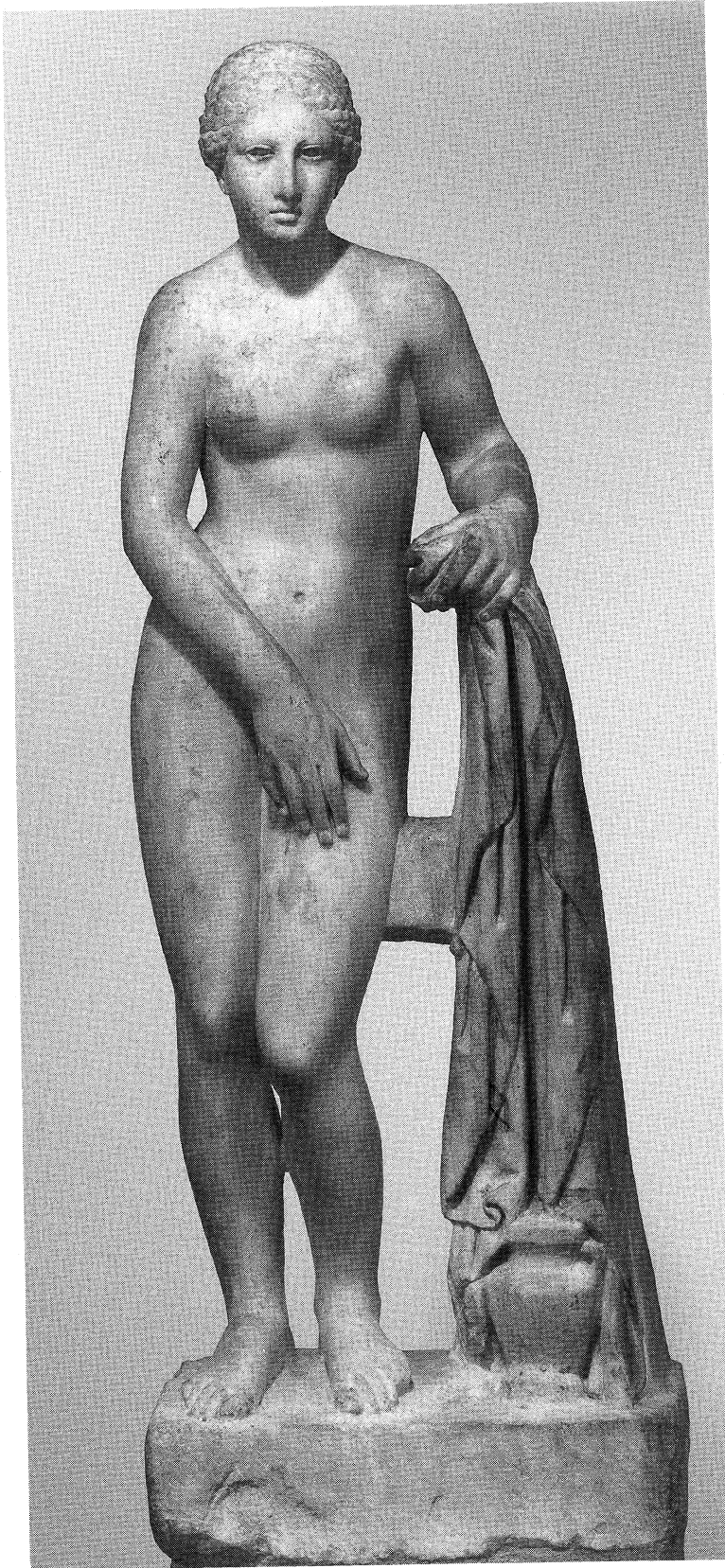


Fig. 17. Aphrodite of Knidos (Venus de Clerq), perhaps from Syria, Roman copy, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.93. (Photo J. Paul Getty Museum.)

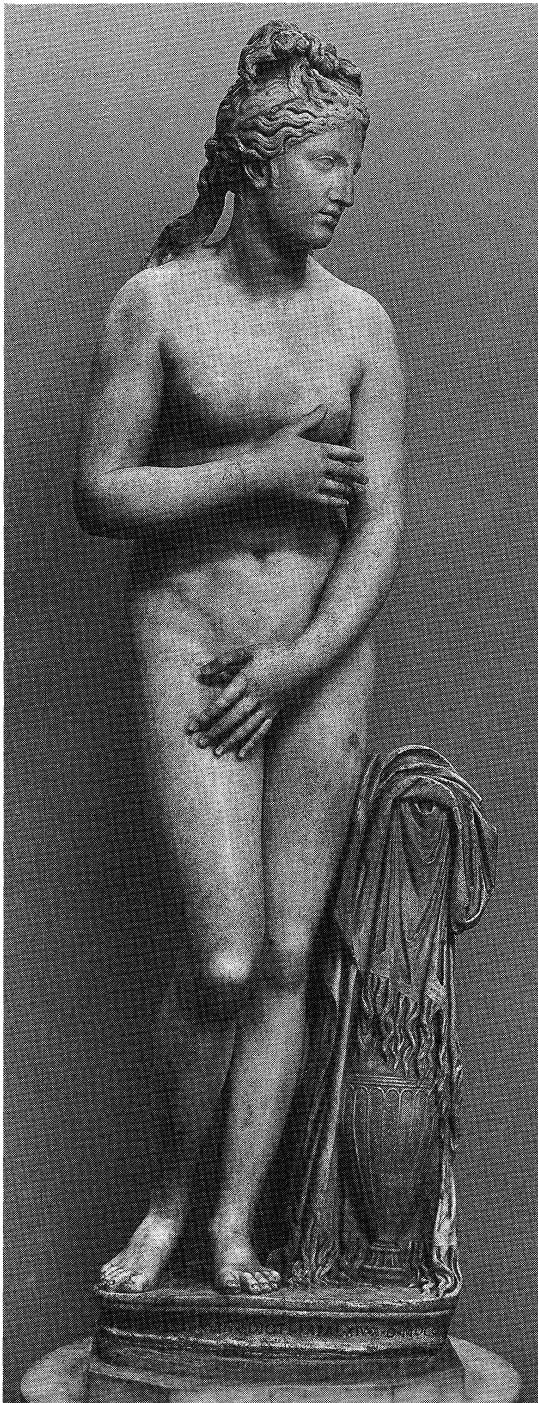


Fig. 18. Capitoline Aphrodite, Rome, Capitoline Museum 409. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 57.720.)

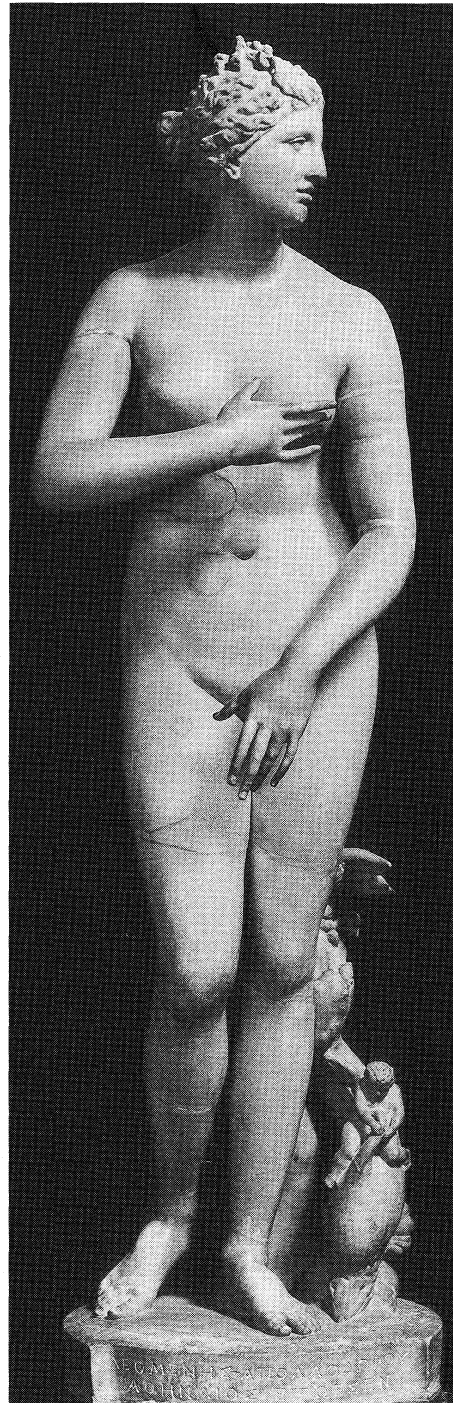


Fig. 19. Medici Aphrodite, Florence, Uffizi 224. (Photo Alinari.)



Fig. 20. *Expulsion*,
Masaccio, Florence,
S. Maria del Carmine.
(Photo Erich Lessing/
Art Resource, N.Y.)

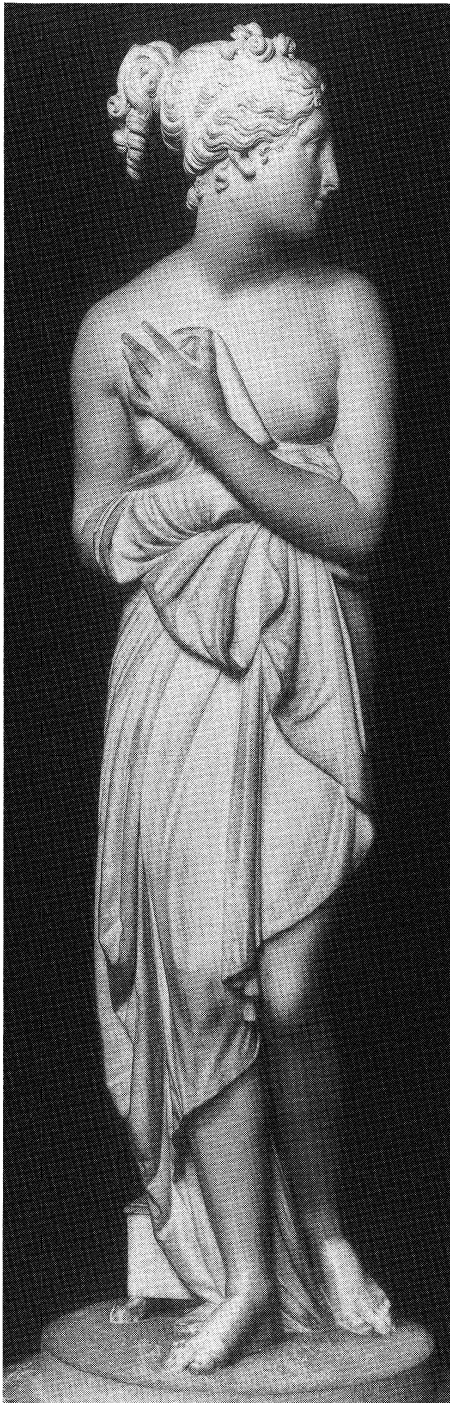


Fig. 21. *Venus Italica*, Canova, Florence, Palazzo Pitti. (Photo Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

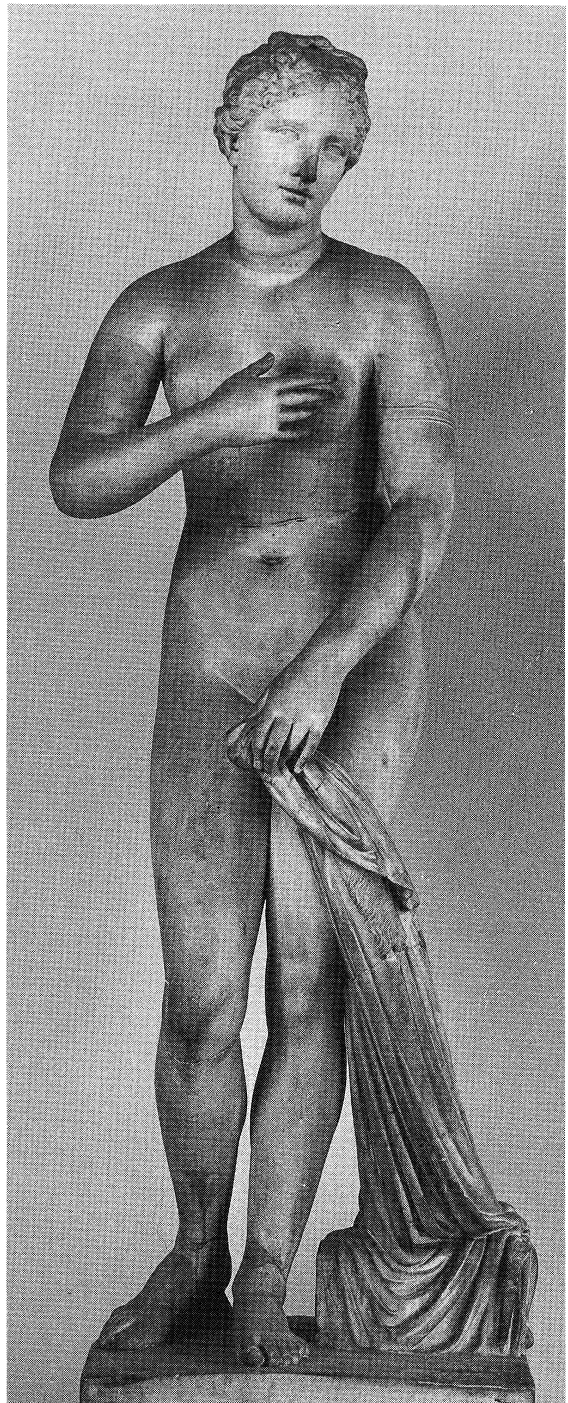


Fig. 22. *Aphrodite* by Menophantos, Rome, National Museum 75674. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 76.1992.)



Fig. 23. Crouching Aphrodite, Rome, National Museum 108597. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 66.1682.)



Fig. 24. Aphrodite from Rhodes, Rhodes Museum. (Photo Hirmer Fotoarchiv 562.0720.)



Fig. 25. Bather, red-figure lekythos, Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 2707. (Photo Hirmer Fotoarchiv 541.263.)

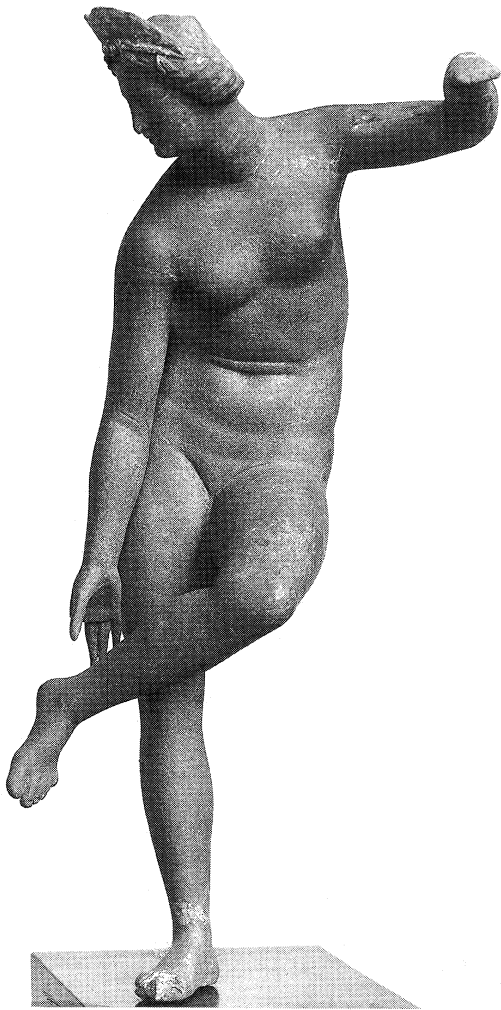


Fig. 26. Sandalbinder, terracotta from Smyrna, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.354. Catharine Page Perkins Fund. (Photo Museum of Fine Arts.)

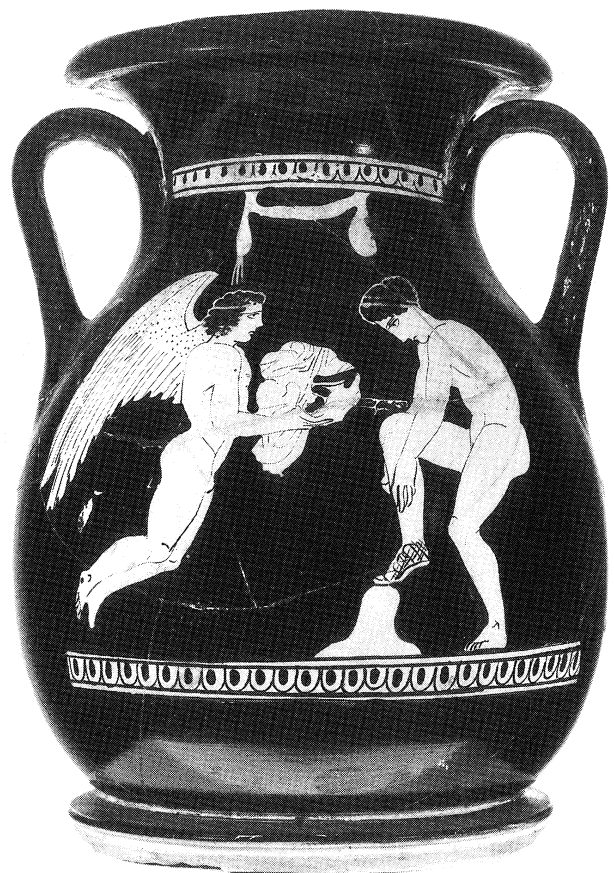


Fig. 27. Sandalbinder, red-figure pelike, Paris, Louvre G 549. (Photo Réunion des Musées Nationaux.)



Fig. 28. Half-draped Aphrodite Anadyomene, Rome, Vatican 807. (Photo Vatican, Archivio Fotografico XXXIV.16.12.)

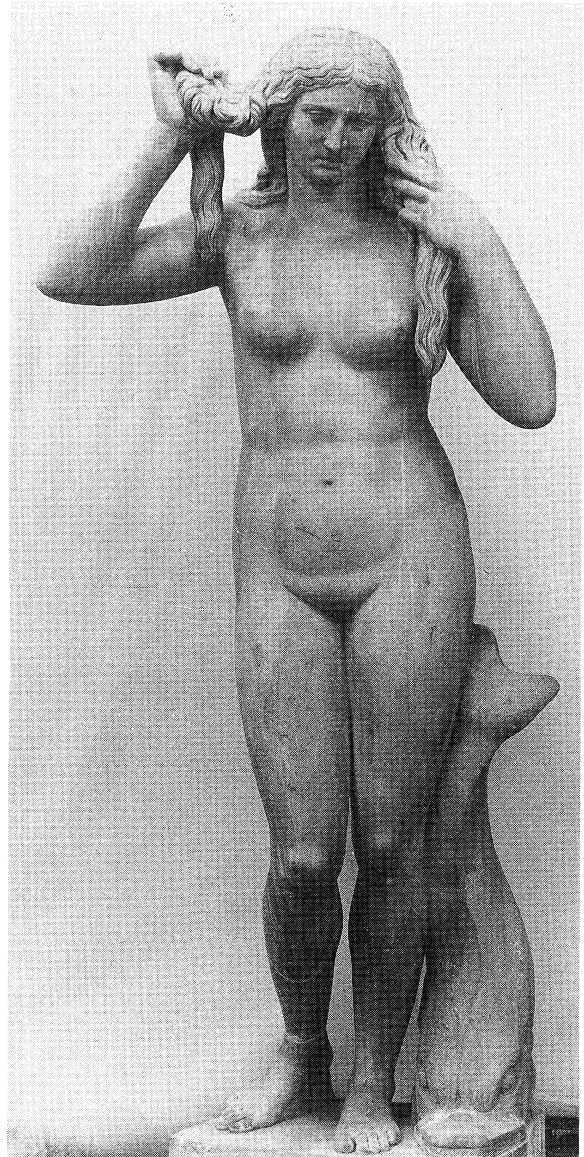


Fig. 29. Nude Aphrodite Anadyomene, Rome, Palazzo Colonna 765. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. neg. 35.74.)



Fig. 30. Aphrodite Anadyomene from Benghazi, Philadelphia, The University Museum, 69-14-1, University of Pennsylvania (Photo Musuem neg. 54-141408)

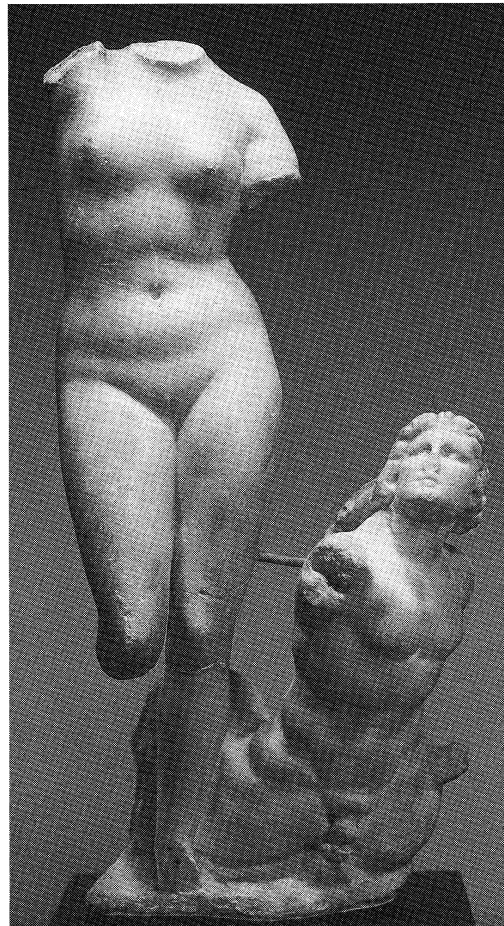


Fig. 31. Aphrodite Anadyomene and triton, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 1156. (Photo Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.)



Fig. 32. Aphrodite Anadyomene with Eros, terracotta relief, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.1946. (Photo Walters Art Gallery.)

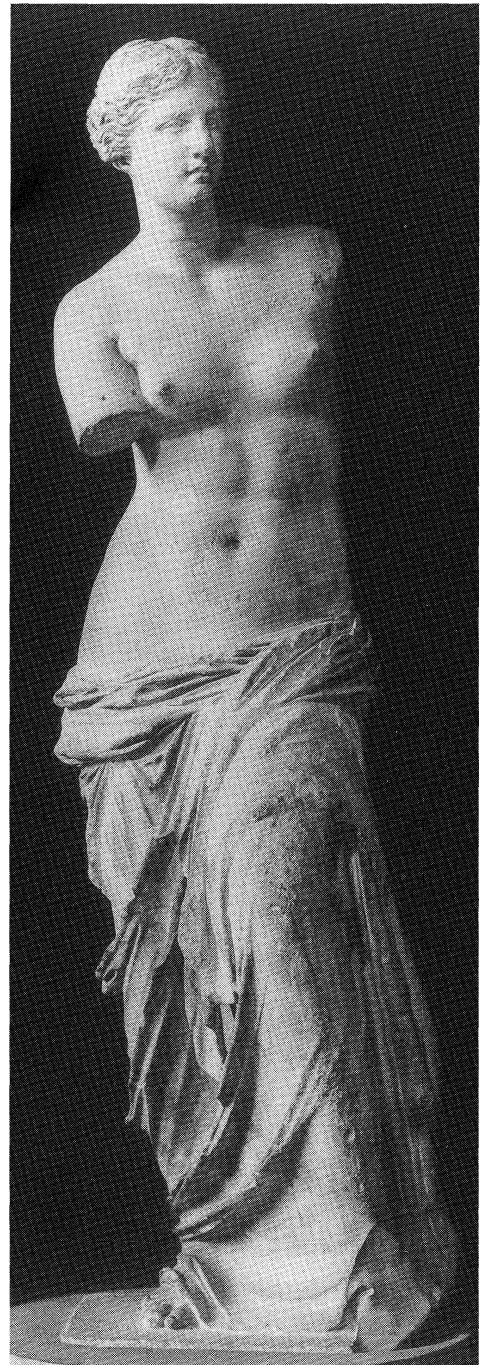


Fig. 33. Aphrodite of Melos, Paris, Louvre MA 399. (Photo Alinari/ Art Resource, N.Y.)



Fig. 34. Aphrodite of Capua, Naples, National Museum 6017. (Photo National Museum.)

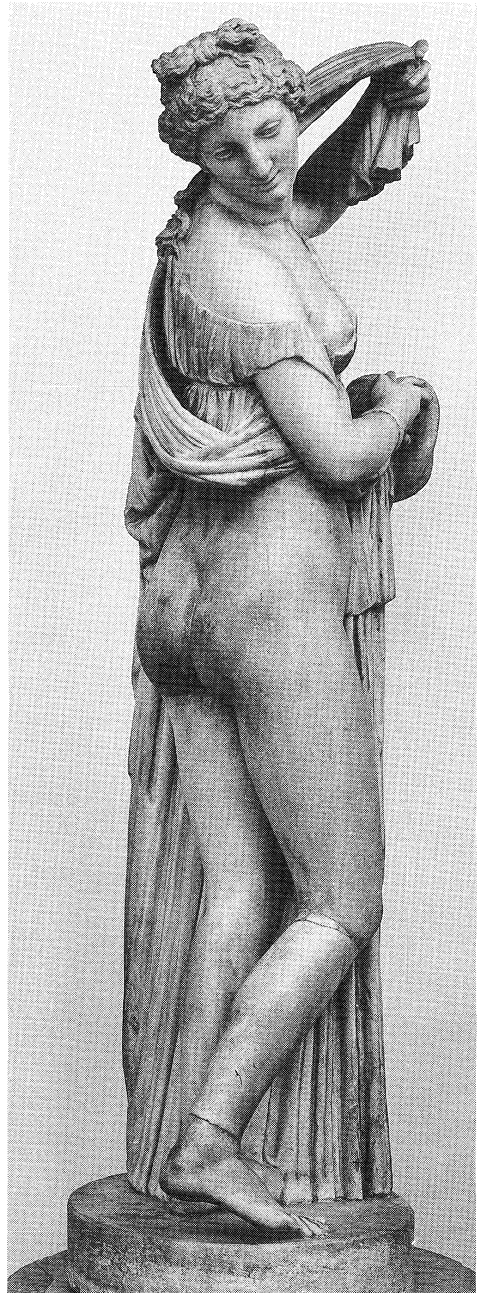


Fig. 35. Aphrodite Kallipygos, Naples, National Museum 6020. (Photo Hirmer Fotoarchiv 671.9234.)



Fig. 36. Aphrodite(?), swan, and old man, red-figure situla. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection 86.106 (Photo Tampa Museum of Art.)



Fig. 37. Pan and shepherd boy, Naples, National Museum 6329.
(Photo Alinari.)



Fig. 38. Hermaphrodite and satyr, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 155.
(Photo Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.)

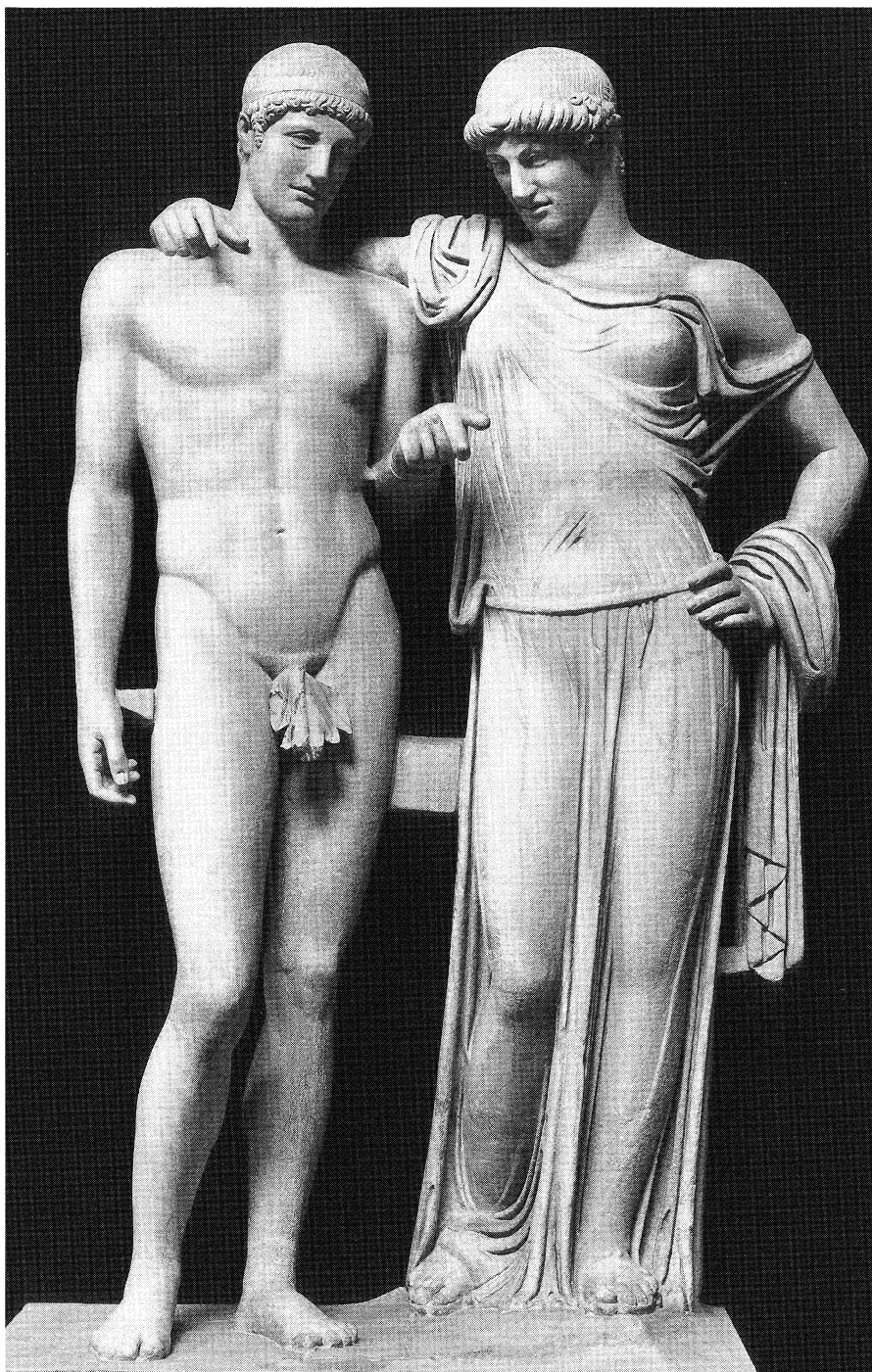


Fig. 39. Orestes and Electra, Naples, National Museum 6006. (Photo Alinari.)